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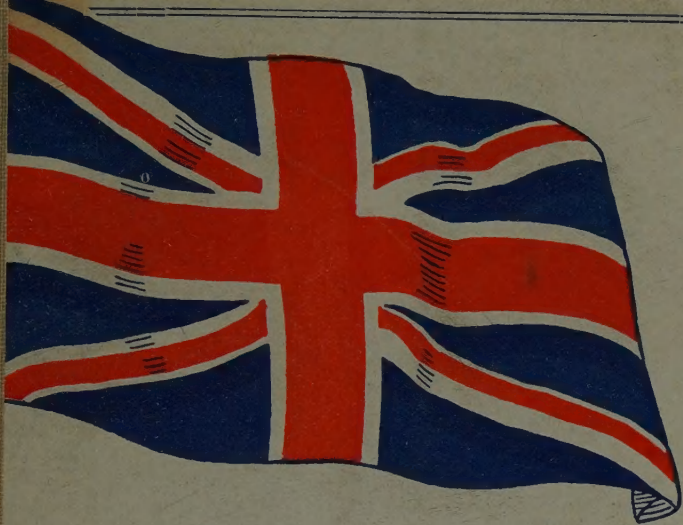
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PLAIN TRUTHS

versus

GERMAN LIES

.. BY ..

Dr. FRANK BALLARD.

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PLAIN TRUTHS
VERSUS
GERMAN LIES

By
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"Eddyism"—A Delusion and a Snare,'
'Determinism—False and True,' 'The
Miracles of Unbelief,' 'Why does
not God Intervene?' 'Why
Not Modern Unbelief?'
'Britain Justified,'
&c.*

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PLAIN TRUTHS

VERSUS

GERMAN LIES

I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LYING IN WAR

It is a commonplace that the present European war is the greatest our world has ever known. It may also be asserted, only too truly, that it is the wickedest—alike in its origin and in some of its developments. So much so, that no apology for plain speech can be expected or offered. Inasmuch as what here follows is written from the Christian standpoint—also without apology—it will suffice to abide by New Testament usage. The fashionable terms of to-day with those who desire above all else to be polite, are, ‘misrepresentations’ and ‘fallacies,’ when things that are not true are to be pilloried. But neither of these mild descriptions occurs in the English of our New Testament. Its pages are content, some twenty times over, to speak of ‘lies.’ We shall not do amiss if our verbal ethics are on its level.

4 PLAIN TRUTHS VERSUS GERMAN LIES

In an important and lucid summary of the causes of the war¹ Mr. W. M. Crook says :—

That the telegram sent to Prince Lichnowsky on August 4 was a deliberate lie, uttered to mislead our Foreign Office, is shown by the fact that the Germans have already annexed the parts of Belgium they have occupied, have altered the French and Flemish names of the streets into German names, and are treating Belgium now as part of Germany.

Now, apart from the insolent greed exhibited in such brutal militarism, if this avowal stands good, if, that is, the German Foreign Secretary was undeniably guilty of 'a deliberate lie,' no matter for what purpose, then both he and his Government merit the unmitigated condemnation of the whole modern world. This is confessedly a great 'if,' and requires, as all lies do, to be proved before it is denounced. In a former volume we have endeavoured to show, on general grounds, that Britain is justified in her present attitude and exertions. Here the same conclusion is arrived at on a narrower issue. No one volume, of course, nor even many volumes, can be exhaustive or final in such a Titanic conflict as now convulses Europe. Every issue upon this theme, however careful and sincere, can be but a contribution. Seeing, however, that this war, with all its gruesome cost, has already lasted six months, and shows no sign of coming to a speedy end, there would appear to be real need to lay plain stress upon one specific feature of the case, which not only makes this to be the wickedest war ever waged, but still more definitely exonerates

¹ In the *London Quarterly Review* for January, 1915, p. 9.

this country from any guilty share in its initiation, or sinister responsibility for its continuance.

In plain truth, there has never been such a campaign of lies in the world's history, as that which has accompanied the mad outbreak upon the world's peace by the German military faction whose watchword is *Deutschland über alles*. Lies theoretical and practical, individual and national, journalistic and professorial, private and official, to an extent unknown before, have been promulgated, by way of supplementing or defending the sayings and doings of the German-Austrian Governments. Before the war was actually precipitated upon the unready Triple Entente, it was assumed that there would be an antithetic Triple Alliance. But at the very outset, the third and not unimportant member of that Alliance shrank from the lie which was to be enacted. Italy knew, and had the moral courage to avow, that it was not a 'defensive' war in which she was invited to take part. To speak of defence under such circumstances—as we shall presently see—was a lie. It is to the honour of the great Mediterranean nation that it refused to share in the falsity, whatever the bribe offered. Since that date, however, as might well be expected from such a beginning, the German lies which have followed have been as real—and as undeniable—as the 'atrocities.' If no other reason obtained for the continuation of the present kataclysmic struggle, sufficient warrant might well be found in the necessity for the maintenance of truth, at any cost, on humanity's behalf. Without assuming that our nation is spotless, or that our Allies are morally perfect, it must yet be said without flinching,

because it is demonstrable, that the lying has been and yet is so real, so manifold, so unworthy, so mischievous, on the German side, as to call loudly for exposition and denunciation on ethical grounds, whatever becomes of military issues. If German 'culture' and 'civilization' mean that false statements may be deliberately made, in all directions, for the simple purpose of attaining a predetermined end, or on sheer grounds of self-interest, then such civilization and culture are but a curse to humanity, and deserve the execration as well as opposition of the whole world. It were better that humanity should perish than that the false should be put upon the same level as the true ; or that 'necessity' should be supposed to sanctify lying. Peace or no peace, war or no war, civilization or savagery, culture or 'barbarism,' if truth is not held sacred under all circumstances, and between all men and all governments, then there is an end of all morality. With that ruin goes also all possibility of character, and indeed everything that makes human life worth living.

The task attempted in these pages is not 'taken in hand lightly, unadvisedly, or wantonly,' but only under a pained sense of its absolute necessity. Whatever else may be right or wrong in war, any army or any nation which seeks to triumph by means of deception, deserves to perish. It has been said, certainly, that 'all is fair in love and war.' But a falser or more degrading aphorism was never coined. The love in which all villainy was fair, would be but an infernal delusion. Love built up on lies is unthinkable. Love supposed to be won by treachery, would prove a veritable shirt of Nessus

for the winner.] In war, indeed, we are given to understand that ambushes, ruses, sham funnels, and devices of all kinds to entrap the foe, are not merely permissible but admirable, though they are deceitful. But there is a difference. These, after all, are not pure deception; because it is understood that both sides may play the same game; that there is no trust nor truce between them; and that therefore it is but a case as to which side can exercise the keenest watchfulness, or employ the most reliable scouts. It is quite another thing when governments make deliberately false statements, in avowed good faith, to each other; when responsible persons knowingly and of set purpose mislead those who confide in them; when the daily Press gives to the uninformed who have to rely upon it for truthful statement, that which is utterly contrary to fact.

In matters practical, the ghastly though instructive summary issued by the *Daily Chronicle*, under the title *In the Trail of the German Army*, points out ten distinct and solemn declarations of the Hague Convention, to which Germany gave her unmistakable adhesion. It then adds, 'Every one of these rules has been broken by the Germans in the present war.' Such lies in action we will estimate shortly. But the same remark would apply to each of the four phases of lying just specified. They never ought to be known, so long as men are above the brutes. Alas! every one of them has been done, and is yet being practised, by those with whom we are in conflict. This indictment applies equally to Germany, Austria, and Turkey. But as the first-named is undoubtedly the

predominant partner in the Dual Alliance—which the Sick Man's treachery, at last unmasked, has made once more triple—the whole case may, in this brief summary, be not unfairly dealt with under the name of German. And what it comes to is this :—It is bad enough that a nation professing the highest 'civilization' and vaunting the superiority of its 'culture,' should be guilty of barbarisms and atrocities about the actuality of which there is no doubt whatever, but for the true description of which some adjective from Hell would have to be requisitioned, seeing that all human speech is inadequate. But that the same Nation, and Government, and Press, having hands all covered with innocent blood, should also masquerade before the world, in Mephistophelean smiles, as the very embodiment of truth, when in reality they are the incarnation of lying, is so frightful an exhibition of infernal cant, as to be absolutely intolerable by rational beings who make any pretence to morality.

There is nothing necessarily bitter or vengeful in such plain statement. Assuredly there is nothing unchristian in dealing trenchantly with wrong. Even the Old Testament protests are unmistakable.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

A false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that breatheth out lies shall not escape.

The mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped.

These, we know, are but fair specimens of the protests of Seers, and Psalmists, and Prophets, against falsehood in every guise. The attitude of the New

Testament needs no quotation to exhibit. The Apostle's strong word—' Abhor that which is evil '—will cover the whole case. Nothing on these pages, therefore, is inconsistent with what appears in the preceding volume¹ concerning the relation of Christianity to the war. If morality is opposed to lying, Christian Theism is still more so ; and New Testament Christianity most of all. When a nation professing to be Christian, and led by men loudly proclaiming their piety before the world, commits itself to lies, no counter protest can be too strong.

The latest instance, as these pages go to press, comes from the highest source. The Kaiser was pleased to celebrate the Christmas Festival with his troops at the front. The following is the account of his speech given in *The Times* :—

Comrades !—Standing *here* in arms of defence, we are assembled to celebrate this Holy Festival which we are accustomed to celebrate in peace at home. God permitted the enemy to compel us to celebrate this festival here. *We are attacked. We defend ourselves.* God grant that out of the hard struggle a rich victory may arise for us and for our country. We stand *on hostile soil*, the point of our sword turned to the enemy, our heart turned to God. We say as once the Great Prince said : ' To the dust with all the enemies of Germany.' Amen.

The italics are ours ; they serve to emphasize statements which are definitely false. Italy knew that at the very outset, and therefore refused to play the part of an ally. All the world—except the German nation—knows it too. The very significance of the word ' here ' gives the lie direct to the pious

¹ *Britain Justified—The War from the Christian Standpoint.*

avowal that ' God permitted ' their position. ' Here '—where? On the soil of the beloved Fatherland? No—in very deed. That might have been self-defence. ' Here ' means a position reached through being driven back after the dishonourable invasion of a neutral state, accompanied with devilish atrocities beyond description. That, assuredly, is no case of self-defence. It is an egregious lie to call it such. The true representation is that of the German blustering bully foiled in his savage intentions, and driven to apologize for the presence of his murderous hosts ' on hostile soil '—i.e. in another nation's territory.

But although this greatest and most unjustified war in history has been going on for several months, and many of the fairest as well as most sacred spots in Europe are now transformed into shambles and ruins, the people of these realms are only very slowly awaking to the enormity of the tragedy involved, and the fearful struggle which has yet to ensue. The most frightful slaughter at a distance, along with the most abominable barbarisms in another country, fail to impress the imagination as much as the murder of a handful of innocent men, women, and children on our eastern coasts—concerning which we may quote—with a slight alteration—the well-known remark upon a very different episode—*C'est diabolique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre*. There is urgent need that all our people should be made to see how ultimately this is a war of ideals. It is pre-eminently a question of principles—higher or lower, human or animal, divine or devilish.

For whilst one is thankful to believe that Britain scorns the suggestion that might is right, there

is some danger of believing too strongly that right is might. It is easy for well-meaning folk to sing

For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win.

But it is not true; and the falsity may be as dangerous as costly in its influence. There is no 'must' about it. We may hope and believe that somehow, somewhen, to an extent no man can predict, right will triumph over wrong. But it is no matter either of fate or divine decree. The 'right' of the future, whether for a nation or an individual, whether here or hereafter, is contingent. It waits for the action of moral beings, not for any kind of externally-compelled destiny. Browning never meant his spring-morning thrill of thankfulness,

God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world,

to be twisted into an excuse for individual or national neglect of duty, or a shuffling off upon God of all responsibility for evil. Thousands of men and women in these realms have never yet apprehended the tremendousness of the issues now at stake; or the awful consequences of the possible triumph of the wrong over the right. Christ was sublimely right, but that did not prevent Calvary. Belgium also was in the right, but that did not avail against the diabolic might of the invading hordes. It is no doubt true that, if we gaze thoughtfully upon the finest cartoon in *Punch* the war has produced—the sneering, leering Emperor, embodying

brute force, taunting the nobly defiant Belgian King with the loss of everything—we all endorse the latter's reply.¹ It was but a colossal German lie to say that 'everything' was lost, because some had heroically died for right, and buildings had been destroyed. Yet we may not forget the cost at which the soul of that brave little nation has been saved. Is that to be repeated in this country? What the modern Huns would do to France if they could, General Bernhardt has quite frankly told us.

France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path.

This, let it be noted, is, according to the Kaiser, the distinguishing mark of a war of 'defence.' What they would do to England if they had the chance, we do not know. God forbid we ever should! But we do know that—with very few exceptions—the whole German and Austrian nations gloated over the sufferings or deaths of the seven hundred victims of the cowardly raid on civilians at Scarborough and Hartlepool. The downright lies with which they sought to justify this slaughter of non-combatants, we will consider presently. Meanwhile the weighty words of the First Lord of the Admiralty only express the truth:—

Viewed in its larger aspect, the incident is one of the most instructive and encouraging that has happened in the war. Nothing proves more plainly the effectiveness of British naval pressure than the frenzy of hatred aroused against us in the breasts of the enemy. This hatred has already passed

¹ The Kaiser : ' So you see—you've lost everything.'
The King of the Belgians : ' No—not my soul.'

the frontiers of reason. Practically the whole fast cruiser force of the German navy, including some great ships vital to their fleet and utterly irreplaceable, has been risked for the passing pleasure of killing as many English people as possible, irrespective of sex, age, or condition, in the limited time available. Whatever feats of arms the German navy may hereafter perform, the stigma of the baby-killers of Scarborough will brand its officers and men while sailors sail the seas.

The term 'frenzy' in this connexion, is none too strong. Herr Witting, the President of the National Bank of Germany, told the correspondent of the *New York Sun* that the Germans

felt only pity and regret for France, and the feeling against Russia was subsiding, whereas against England there was growing, amongst high and low, the most fanatical hatred and contempt that one nation ever had towards another.

Such venomous rancour is only too truly confirmed by Herr Ernst Lissauer's well-known 'Song of Hate,' which is indeed too hateful to quote. But why all this wrath and fury? Lies are at the bottom of it. As the scorching lava issuing from the volcano tells of the subterranean fire, so does all the vengeful hate of the German people just now towards this country, mean that they have been raised to this heat of hate by undercurrents of false ideals, false news, false suggestions, false representations, false hopes, false fears; until, as we see, the whole nation is obsessed with what the *Staatszeitung* terms 'the gigantic, everlasting, inextinguishable hatred of Germans for England.'

It is a pitiful spectacle; as ghastly morally, as a battle-field physically. And the ensuing tragedy

is that it yields only too strong reason for thinking that, in spite of all the preceding holocaust, there is much more, if not worse, to follow. It may even be that the writer of *Can Germany Win?*¹ is correct when he says that we may yet have to be thankful in this country that we have bread to eat and roofs over our heads. What, for instance, is the significance of the vast number of troops now holding Antwerp? 'The city is to be defended to the last possible moment.' That points to a fearful struggle yet to come before the Germans are driven out of Flanders and Belgium and France, into which they 'hacked their way' in their 'war of defence.' It may be pointed out that the awful expenditure of human life which has resulted from the Kaiser's reiterated reckless commands to 'take at all costs' Paris, and Calais, and Warsaw, has been useless. These places have not been, and will not be, entered by German troops. Also every week's prolongation of the conflict makes it worse for them and better for the Allies. None the less there is tragic room for the warning of the American writer just mentioned.

You English people think that you have been roused. I tell you that so far you have only stirred in your sleep. You little know the wakefulness you need, or the strength which you will presently be called upon to put forth.

Germany's resources in men are indeed almost incalculable. The Kaiser himself said that he could afford to lose 2,500 men every day of the war, no matter how long it lasted, and yet keep his army as numerically strong as it was at the beginning.

¹ A little volume well worth considering, by an intelligent American (C. A. Pearson, 1s.)

Whether such boasts are taken seriously or not, it is absolutely certain that nothing less than the very best and utmost continuously maintained on the part of the Allies, can have any prospect of that thorough triumph over Junker militarism without which all the slaughter and misery will have been in vain.

Now what is 'best and utmost' from the military standpoint, either as to army or navy, these pages do not presume to opine. Besides the expert knowledge required, the area of operations is so vast, covering as it does practically half Europe and all the seas, that no one mind can grasp all. The marvels of wise bravery and heroic endurance which have been exhibited by each of the Allies, have already constituted this war not merely the greatest but the most surprising in all history. Never was a strong and thoroughly disciplined nation, armed to the teeth, ready for anything—'even to the last button'—in its military preparation, and bombastically confident in its fighting invincibility, so utterly disillusioned. The 'tin soldiers' of Belgium, by their heroic resistance, spoiled the German smashing calculations from the very outset. The cool unconquerableness of 'General French's contemptible little army' gave their boastful opponents, first, pause for reflection, and then, reasons for retreat. The Russian 'barbarians' have found the hosts of belauded Von Hindenburg at least enough to do to hold their own, and have effectually prevented their treating Poland—as they fain would—after the fashion of Belgium, to say nothing of the prospects of further German disaster. And the 'ramshackle Empire' which was going to put

its brutal heel upon brave little Serbia, has been compelled to witness its crestfallen hosts execute many 'goose steps' towards home, bereft of any disposition to try to 'chastise' the rebels again.

But the end is not yet. There is one thing in and through and above all, which is of immeasurable import for all the countries engaged in this infernal strife. We have read how 'Sir Galahad fought with the strength of ten, because his heart was pure.' But tenfold strength, on either side, would assuredly put a speedy end to the whole contest. Is there any prospect of this? We hear much of the *morale* of an army, and its unmeasured importance for fighting purposes. But the question of right and wrong, truth or falsehood, righteousness or wickedness, is much more than mere *morale*. It is indeed, over and above all else, *the* question of the hour. However far the conflicting nations may be from the true Christian ideal, and to whatever extent the Nietzschean *summum bonum* may have infected our British conceptions—after the fashion in which Professor Cramb urged us to out-Bernhardi Bernhardi—yet there is good ground for avowing that the modern world is so far evolved upwards, that in the present conflict, more than has ever been known before in human history, right counts against wrong, truth against falsehood, justice against injustice, liberty against tyranny, humanity against bestiality.

That is the hope of the future. No man, no nation, no Kaiser on earth, dare do to-day what Brennus did at the gates of Rome. The German special pleaders complain that the world is against

them. They are right. It is. Just as it would be against the old Gaul who cast his sword into the scale with the brutal sneer *Vae victis*—which is, of course, entirely identical with Bernhardt's 'might makes right,' and von Bethmann Hollweg's 'Necessity knows no treaties.' But the modern world will have neither of them. Nietzsche's 'great blonde beast' will never again sit upon a European throne, nor reign as the worthy ideal in any nation's heart. There is no place in present-day civilization for the 'Superman'—who is really nothing more than an inhuman incarnation of

Dragons of the prime
That tear each other in their slime.

Whether in war or peace, humanity to-day has no longer any doubt that

There is a lower and a higher.

The lower is the way of falsity, dishonour, selfish tyranny, ruthless cruelty, reckless barbarism. The higher is the way of truth, and honour, and liberty, and justice, and chivalry, and compassion. In a word, whatever becomes of crude popular misconceptions as to the 'survival of the fittest,'¹

¹ 'By audacious and none the less stupid misrepresentations of Darwin's theory of the survival of favoured races by natural selection in the struggle for existence, the sanction of science has been mendaciously claimed for this religion of murder. German men of science who make this false claim know as well as we do that in Nature the fit who survive are not necessarily the bloody, murderous, and faithless bullies, but far more often those who by unaggressive adaptation to conditions of life are able to obtain nourishment and multiply. The great carnivora have never been the masters of the earth.'—SIR E. RAY LANKESTER.

the humanity of this age has already—even on most unexpected lips—endorsed the Christian ideal of the Golden Rule and the pity of the Good Samaritan. It has relegated to ages long gone by the Nietzschean maxim, 'Live dangerously' with only a care for 'the will to power.' The words of Dr. Higgins, in one of the little but most valuable 'Oxford Pamphlets,'¹ deserve to be writ large for the benefit of the whole nation :—

The manner in which the violation of a solemn pledge is viewed by the parties to this dispute, is the measure of the spiritual and moral forces on both sides ; war becomes a struggle between these forces, and as Clausewitz—perhaps the greatest of all writers on military strategy—says, ' In war, such a struggle is the centre of all.'

That being so, unmeasured importance attaches to the claim so earnestly made by the leading statesmen and the Government of this country, that we have been driven, against our will, to enter upon a righteous war. Before, however, we can take to our souls the comfort of such assurance, it becomes necessary to face two serious questions, viz. (1) What is a righteous war? (2) How is our claim to such justified? In order to give fair consideration to these, it is not necessary either to refute the omniscient dictum of *Everyman*—to the effect that it is 'extraordinarily difficult not only to take a consistently Christian view of war in general, but also to arrive at any consistent

¹ Published at twopence each by the Oxford University Press, but of importance far beyond their cost or bulk, by reason of their truthful lucidity.

ethical view of the present world-struggle,'¹ nor to take serious notice of the conceited splutterings of Mr. G. B. Shaw, which—as Mr. Blatchford has so trenchantly shown—will have value only for those who are weak enough to take such a writer at his own estimate.

It is deliberately affirmed here that it is *not* extraordinarily difficult to 'arrive at a consistent ethical view of the present world-struggle.' And the case may be put into brief but none the less significant form. That is indeed the very purpose of adding these pages to the many volumes already issued.

(1) Ethically we may pronounce a war righteous when (i.) it is not a war of aggression, but of genuine self-defence ; (ii.) when it is not waged for selfish or covetous ends, but only for the maintenance of those rights of possession which are internationally acknowledged as just ; (iii.) when it is not deliberately provoked after definite and complete preparation, but is forced upon a nation, in any state of preparation or unreadiness whatever, against its will ; (iv.) when it is neither dishonourably begun, nor conducted with ruthless cruelties, but with due regard to such possible amenities as have, since the

¹ The pseudo-reviewer, in this journal, of the preceding volume, *Britain Justified*, adds that 'it is not by quoting texts that the rights and wrongs of this dispute can be settled, and believers just as ardent as Dr. Ballard believe just as ardently that the Germans and Austrians are fighting a righteous war under the special protection of the Almighty.' Whereas any fair-minded reader of the book in question will see at once that the last fact here mentioned—as if it had never occurred to any one before—is fully recognized on its pages ; and so far from 'quoting texts,' as the means of settling the present dispute, many pages are given to the express purpose of showing that it cannot so be settled. So much for some modern 'reviewing.'

Hague Peace Conference in 1907, been internationally agreed upon; (v.) when it is waged, apart from the foregoing ethical negatives, positively and actually on behalf of truth, and honour, and liberty, and compassion, no less than for the maintenance of national self-preservation. Such a conception of a 'righteous war' is both ethically consistent and in entire harmony with the main principles of the New Testament, whatever may become of Pacifist interpretations of isolated passages.

(2) The real question, however, so far as we Britons are concerned, yet waits to be faced. No sensible man needs what Mr. Blatchford has not untruly called 'the rattling of Mr. G. B. Shaw's bladder of peas,' to remind him that there are two sides to the great world-tragedy which is upon us. Every reader of the papers is aware, only too unmistakably, that what we affirm our enemy denies. No sapient 'review' is necessary to remind the people of these realms that the Kaiser attributes his small successes, with their huge accompanying slaughter, to the goodness of the Almighty; whilst the state-controlled Pastors and Professors meekly echo both his pietisms and his denunciations, so as to lead up to the conclusion that the German nation is unselfishly immaculate, a pitiable victim of British greed and hate and treachery. As *The Times* correspondent recently put it:—

A man cannot tarry long in Germany in these days, without having it borne in upon him with what ferocious fury all classes of the population hate England. It has become an *idée fixe* among all strata of the nation, that England organized the war, and herself went into it for the sheer purpose of ruining a feared and despised commercial rival.

Now every one knows that a lie which is honestly believed, becomes the truth for the man who believes it. And in every such case mere assertion is worth nothing. When equally ardent and sincere avowals are made on opposite sides, manifestly they cancel out, and the actual truth must be sought in other ways.

The foundation assertion of all the Allies is, that Germany knowingly and deliberately caused this war. Germany as emphatically puts the responsibility upon others. At first the blame was laid upon Russia. Then, because reasons waned whilst hatred waxed, it fell upon Britain—the formerly alleged evil designs of ‘barbaric’ Russia having been obscured by the ‘greedy, treacherous spite of England.’ In such a case the certainty that both sides cannot be objectively true, even if both were equally subjectively sincere, needs no demonstration. What, then, is left as a means of decision, when both parties assert their righteousness with equal vehemence? Nothing, so far as one can see, but the trouble of first ascertaining facts, and then impartially applying principles.

(1) Upon the acquisition and dissemination of accurate knowledge of facts, enormous labour has already been spent. White Books, Grey Books, Yellow Books, Orange Books, have been issued, with all authority, concerning the origin of the war and its tragically sudden letting loose upon Europe. Whilst as to the abominable barbarisms and atrocities of German Huns in Belgium, Commissions of Inquiry have issued their deliberate findings. As to the latter, it is but despicable mockery to seek to defend the villainy involved,

under the excuse that all armies have done the same ; that in war's fury the men get out of hand ; that there is much exaggeration ; that many cases in detail have been proved untrue. All such suggestions are alike contemptible and irrelevant. Until the modern world has wholly forgotten the names of Louvain, Dinant, Senlis, Aerschot, Termonde, Haellen, Malines, Maubeuge, to say nothing of Liège and Rheims, enough that is absolutely and irrefutably true is before the horror-stricken and blazing indignation of the civilized world, to brand the German name with undying infamy. For twopence the reader may obtain from the *Daily Chronicle* Office, the full text of the official reports, which show these ghastly and incontestable facts.

(1) That innumerable atrocities were infernally real. (2) They were not justified by alleged civilian resistance. (3) They were not perpetrated by the few, but by the many. (4) They were not done by accident, or in response to attacks from the Belgians, but according to the deliberate orders of the Kaiser and his Staff, as part of their doctrine of 'frightfulness' which was to ensure their speedy triumph.

(2) In regard to any final estimate concerning the greatest question of all—who is responsible?—a truthful estimate of the coloured books of the various nations must be left to each separate reader. But it must never be forgotten that their testimony does not cover the whole case. The record of all the happenings of the previous forty years, as well as of all the days following June 23, must come fully into the account. Therein truly lies the clue to the final judgement. It may be as impossible

to eliminate all Germanophobia on this side of the Channel, as to prevent Anglophobia on that. But the mental attitude of one nation towards another, does not rest on some one isolated factor, but upon many. It is the accumulation of multiplied reasons for love or hate, which brings about the predominant feeling. Thus the question whether those reasons—alleged so often and so vehemently by each side on its own behalf—are true or false, valid or invalid, becomes the only way in which an honest conclusion can be reached as to whether such a crime against humanity as this war, is 'righteous,' or necessary, or justifiable.

Thus we are brought to the great, sad, but deliberate avowal of these pages; viz. that from the beginning even until now—the sixth month of the war—the German side of this internecine conflict has been a veritable campaign of lies, to an extent which has found no counterpart whatever on the side of the opposing nations. The gravity of this indictment is not for a moment overlooked. It shall be demonstrated by appeal to facts. For the present, it is enough to affirm that any side of any conflict which requires to be buttressed by lies, condemns itself to immediate execration, no less than to ultimate overthrow. It is not desired here to reverse the propaganda which the Triumvirate in America—Count Bernstorff, Herr Dernburg, and Professor Münsterberg—have been so unsuccessfully carrying on. It is not affirmed that all the Germans are devils, whilst all the Allies are angels. But it is definitely and strenuously maintained that truth and honour have been, and are, on the side of this country at all events—leaving our other partners

in the struggle to speak for themselves—both at the crucial commencement of the war, and in all succeeding events, in a way and to a degree that have found no parallel on the German part. For which reason we are warranted as a nation in reiterating that it is, for us, a righteous war. In that case, the fearful cost and the indescribable loss as well as suffering involved, become a fair though tragic index of the loftiness of the principles for which we are contending, and a pledge that victory will wait upon our determination to be true to them, without flinching, to the very uttermost.

It is now, therefore, incumbent upon us to justify, by appeal to fact, what has been here affirmed in regard to German mendacity.¹

¹It must be distinctly understood that the illustrations which follow, whilst amply sufficient to justify the general indictment as to German lies, are by no means exhaustive. They are simply typical. Similar instances continue to abound. Scarcely an issue of the daily paper fails to supply them. Thus to-day—January 27—in spite of the definite and repeated assurances of our Admiralty, that all the British ships have safely returned to port after the naval battle in which the *Blücher* was sunk, the German press is persisting in its lie to the German nation, that a British cruiser and two destroyers were sunk by German guns. And the people believe them.

II

THE ACTUALITY OF GERMAN LIES

There may be said to be, in the main, two kinds of lies, theoretical and practical. Tennyson's forecast has been tragically fulfilled in the Europe of 1914 :—

Chaos, Cosmos, Cosmos, Chaos, who can tell how all will
end ?

Read the world's wide annals, you, and take wisdom for
your Friend.

Aye, if dynamite and revolver leave you courage to be
wise,

When was age so crammed with menace, madness, written,
spoken lies ?

But it would have been even more true if he had
said

crammed with madness, acted, written, spoken lies.

For the lies in action have been even more disastrous than those written and spoken. We are familiar with several terms for the expression of varying kinds and degrees of untruth. ' Misstatements, misrepresentations, fallacies, untruths, mendacities,' are all employed as euphemisms which politeness may sometimes justify. But in a crisis like the

present, and in an attempt to state one serious phase of it with careful brevity, 'lies' may be taken as a generic term covering them all. A strict definition of a lie would make it 'a statement known to be untrue, but deliberately made with intention to deceive.' But there are variations. A false statement may be true to its utterer, as well as to its hearers. Yet is the utterer responsible not only for sincerity, but for the employment of all possible means in ascertaining whether it is true. That which is essentially false, becomes true to those who accept it. But it is incumbent even upon them to test its truthfulness so far as they are able. To be morally blameless in either saying or believing what is untrue, may often require no small effort. But be the cost what it may, so long as men deserve the name, they ought to endorse Carlyle :—

'Truth,' I cried, 'though the heavens crush me for following her. No falsehood, though a whole celestial Lubberland were the price of apostasy.'

Departure from high principle may also be a real lie. As when the Apostle John says so plainly—'If any man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' Written lies are of even more serious import than when spoken. For the speech may end with the occasion, but there is no end to the possible influence of false words in black and white. That is why, when men are in doubt about each other's word, they say, 'Let us have that in black and white.' Printed lies are the bane of civilization. However great our debt to the modern press, in sober truth it must be owned that so many lies were never

before disseminated through the world as they are to-day, by its instrumentality. ¶

Yet it may be questioned whether lies in action are not the most baneful of all. The Psalmist had his eye on these, when he gave as the hall-mark of the good man—'He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.' One cannot but wonder whether that verse is included in German Bibles. If it be, we may surely commend it to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg—and his Master. All respectable humanity endorses it, in holding that a man's word should be his bond. And the being true to such a bond is rightly said to be the soul of honour. Every man with a true heart echoes the poet's ideal :—

I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more.

Alas, for our vaunted 'civilization' and for a great nation's reiterated boasts of 'culture.' Never in the world's history has there been such an exhibition of lying, of all kinds and on an unmeasured scale, as in this wretched war. And if not wholly and only, at least to an extent beyond all comparison, on the German side. It may be wisdom and necessity on the part of all the Allies, as it is of this country, to keep their plans and actions and calamities, as far as possible, from the knowledge of the foe. But that is neither deliberately false statement nor practical deceit. Neither side is under any moral obligation to lay bare to the other its purposes or resources. On the part of the Allies, or, more especially, of this country, there has been no instance either of false statements of facts, or dishonourable

breach of promise. When all the coloured governmental books are ransacked, there will be found no single occasion on which British statesmen wrote or spoke that which they knew to be untrue. How the Prime Minister stigmatized as 'infamous' the suggestion that we should lie practically, in consenting to dishonour, all the world—except Germany—knows and accepts as true.

The case which we have here to make plain, without any of the hate or spite which, alas, so characterizes the attitude and utterances of our opponents, is that both theoretical and practical lying has been, and yet is, their practice to an unmeasured extent. This demonstrable fact destroys altogether Professor Eucken's insistent claim that his country's cause is the only righteous one. But it leaves yet great room to make unequivocally plain that in all relating to this frightful catastrophe, Britain's hands are clean, and this nation's attitude is warranted on grounds of truth and right.

It is because the mere assertion of this is so useless, whilst it needs above all else to be put beyond doubt, that these pages are added to the reams of printed matter upon the war already published. Even a mouse, the old fable tells us, may help to set a lion free.

But even upon a small effort great responsibility may rest, when large affirmations are made. Such for instance as these three :—

(1) The war began, on the part of Germany, with a lie in action, in treating as 'a scrap of paper' a solemn bond which the Government of that country had previously knowingly and deliberately ratified.

(2) The war has been continued as a lie in action, by that country, seeing that at least ten of the solemn declarations of the Hague Convention to which the German Government gave definite assent, have been shamelessly violated in Belgium and France.

(3) As regards written, printed, and spoken lies, by these the side of Germany has been and yet is maintained, not only throughout Europe, but to an unmeasured extent in both the farthest East and West. It will presently be shown that they are glaringly demonstrable in three directions—(i.) To their own army and navy; (ii.) To the whole German nation; (iii.) To the wide, wide world beyond.

That it is as unconvincing as easy simply to affirm all this, goes without saying. The justification of such an indictment seems inevitably to demand a black catalogue of unequivocal instances. These shall be definitely supplied. But some general features will first be highly instructive.

For some time, both before and since the war began, it was a commonplace remark that we were not opposed to the German nation, but only to the military party as represented by the Kaiser and his associated war-lords. That notion has had to be wholly dismissed. There can be no possible mistaking the fact now, that that whole country is absolutely at one in its support of the war, and still more in immeasurable bitterness of hatred against this country, as the principal enemy. It is likely to be even more so for a long time. As a people, they have for forty years been prepared for the present situation by the philosophic lies of Nietzsche, and the accompanying

distortion of national ideals by Treitschke.¹ But for such prepossession they would never have been content with the false representations which have been doled out to them, from the Kaiser downwards, since the commencement of hostilities. Every careful watcher of the highly instructive column in *The Times*—‘Through German Eyes’—must have felt pity, as well as indignation, at the lies which have been disseminated through the ‘wireless’ Wolff agency, feeling assured that sooner or later there is coming a tragic awakening for the German ‘common people.’ First intimations of the truth are already beginning to leak through, when it is discovered that post cards with ‘Posted at Paris’ are but lying specimens of other delusions with which they have been hoodwinked, under the name of ‘glorious victories’—to quote the Kaiser’s own mendacity. The discovery that things are going wrong instead of right, will not be likely to create affection for the country which undoubtedly blocked the way of the German hosts to Paris. It is to be feared that it will be ‘a long, long way’ yet for the German nation to the convictions already expressed by some of their compatriots, who, under the name of the ‘German Humanity League,’ have from Rotterdam thus addressed their Socialist comrades throughout the world :—

We are face to face with the enemies of mankind. The German nation driven into a wicked war by the Kaiser and

¹ The mention of these two will doubtless give occasion for cynical reviewers, like the writer in *Everyman*, to sneer that these pages are ‘peppered’ with their names. Whether they are peppered or salted makes not the least difference, so long as the references are true. Which they are.

his military entourage, cajoled by perjured statesmen in the Reichstag, and by false records circulated in every state in order to deceive our compatriots, has recklessly hurled itself against forces which, sustained by indisputable moral considerations, show no signs of weakening in their determination to expel from Belgium the troops which covered her habitations with blood, and irreparably injured an innocent nation which our rulers had sworn to protect.

We know from authentic intelligence which reaches us, that the restless indignation of a deceived democracy, now undergoing privations and nursing its griefs, cannot be restrained by force from active protest; and we most earnestly appeal to every comrade who cares for the maintenance of international obligations, to strive his utmost to crush and sweep away for ever the domination of Prussian militarism within Germany which, by its conspiracy against humanity, has disgraced and humiliated our nation in the eyes of the civilized world.

Whether the seven signatories to this remarkable appeal can procure for these and its other paragraphs the attention which they deserve, or not, such words do at least voice the truth. They point to the attitude which will as surely as slowly come to be that of the great mass of the people, when time brings to them its further disclosures of the fables with which they have been duped.

But that day has not yet dawned, save for the few. At present, alas, the general feeling is only too truly represented by the self-styled 'German Defence Association.' This met recently in Berlin and sought to cheer the drooping spirits of the Kaiser and his promising son, by telegraphing some half a dozen 'resolutions,' in which falsity and insolence

struggle for pre-eminence. As witness these portions only :—

We Germans demand immediate, just, severe, and efficacious recompense for all the wrong done us.

The German nation demands that the war be carried on unsparingly until the criminal disturbers of the peace be cast down, and be compelled to accept our conditions.

The healthy development of the German nation due to this war, is to be continued by all means, until we have secured social union, a faultless system of defence, and the renaissance of our spiritual, moral, and aesthetic natures. Above all, the continuous and most far-reaching military preparedness is absolutely essential.

Most of this ebullition is only fit for the pages of *Punch*; comment would spoil it. But there is tragedy at the bottom of it. There can scarcely be a greater tragedy for modern civilization than a demented nation. When we find a band of intellectuals uniting to declare to the world that—

Germany has now not only to battle against a world in arms, but it must also defend itself against lies and slanders which have been piled up round it like a hostile rampart,

in face of actual facts, one can only gasp at what our American cousins—for whom these words were exclusively intended—would call their ‘colossal cheek.’ But we British have to face the unmistakable situation which is expressed by the Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* in the question it has addressed to a number of distinguished Germans—‘Why must Germany win?’ It would be vastly comic in its proleptic conceit, if it were not for the tragic element involved. The tragedy is to see a great nation

completely hoodwinked by its leaders. It is true that *The Times*, with commendable charity, softens down the mendacity by kindly philosophy.

It is disconcerting to find that no amount of education or ability can protect a man from this unconscious jugglery. Eminent German Professors, men no doubt perfectly honest at ordinary times, and in the ordinary affairs of life, have stated, as if it were a certain fact, that England had planned with Belgium to violate Belgian neutrality.

But even such journalistic magnanimity has to proceed—‘Yet they must have known’—if which be true, the jugglery ceases to be ‘unconscious,’ and becomes guilty. How far it is such in each particular case, we need not here decide. What we are sadly and seriously concerned with, is the fact that by such leaders and teachers the German nation has been and is yet being misled. It is not merely a case like that of the Isle of Man prisoner, Hermann Blass, who by means of his invisible ink sent home to his friends ‘a tissue of falsehoods—every statement in which was admitted to be false.’ Such proceedings, unrestrainedly permitted, would no doubt account for much popular delusion in the Fatherland.¹ But they are by no means sufficient to account for the hypnotizing of a whole people. Dr. Macnamara spoke only the truth at one of his public meetings recently, when he declared that—‘It is characteristic of the bully that when you take him by the throat, he lies.’ For all

¹ As, for instance, the well-vouched-for case in which an Englishwoman, married to a German husband in this country, recently went to join him in his native land, and after a while wrote home to her mother in this country—‘My word, won’t poor Belgium have something on her conscience when this war is over?’

those who are acquainted with the inner history and the political relationships of the German Government during the last forty years, there can be no question as to the identity of 'the bully.' With the world for a jury, there will be no more room to question the actuality of the lies. It is by falsities from high quarters that the people have been and yet are misled. How long they will remain content with their obfuscation, no one can say. Until, however, their eyes are opened, the genuine patriotism and defiant unity which characterize their attitude will not only remain unshaken by defeat, but be in itself both worthy and admirable. It is the fount of lies that has to be stopped, if any hope of European peace and a comity of nations is ever to dawn upon the blackness of the present night.

In the main, without claiming to specify all, the sources of the German campaign of lies are three: (1) The Press Bureau, with its associated 'wireless agency'; (2) The authoritative dicta of Universities and Professors, in the name of intellect and culture; (3) The protests of theologians, in the name of religion.

With the first of these we shall be sufficiently concerned presently. It will be well for the moment to reckon with the Professors and Theologians. In so doing, one's first impressions cannot but be, in the literal sense, shocking. The shock is indeed indescribable. How it could ever come to pass that forty-five of the leading 'intellectuals' of any great country should deliberately associate themselves with such a clever and specious but demonstrably—and one is driven to add, intentionally—misleading production as has been scattered broadcast in

America, under the title *The Truth About Germany ; Facts About the War*, passes all comprehension. It makes, indeed, the charity of *The Times* above mentioned, well-nigh impossible for ordinary minds. Mr. Douglas Sladen, to whom the British nation is indebted for acquaintance with this precious piece of sophistry, tells us concerning it :—

This book, which has no title-page, or any other indication of its publisher, or place of issue, has been jealously kept out of England, and handed to certain American visitors, whom the German authorities thought they could trust, as they left Germany.

This is the only form in which *Truth About Germany* can be procured in Great Britain, since the German authorities forbade its introduction here, knowing the storm of exposure and derision with which it would be greeted by the English newspapers.

Such a method of publication speaks for itself. It brings to memory some words of the world's greatest Teacher, which, for a land so avowedly Christian as Germany, ought to have some weight there :—

For every one that doeth ill hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reproved. But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest.

That the authors of this book should so desire and scheme to protect it from British criticism, will be understood plainly enough by every reader who comes to it possessed of any real acquaintance with authoritatively established facts. A thorough perusal on such lines, yields no less than *one hundred and fifteen distinct instances* in which the truth is

unmistakably and demonstrably travestied. In most of these, no other estimate of the statement printed would be adequate, except to reply point-blank that it is a lie. To print them all, *seriatim*, would here be out of the question, because they all appear—with his own fair though acute comments—in Mr. Sladen's book.¹ The reader is urged to judge for himself. Some of the mendacities there enshrined will inevitably be mentioned in the following pages, though with a different setting.

Seeing, however, that the 'Honorary Committee and Board of Editors' for this pitiful production, includes such names as Professor Dr. Eugen Kuhne-mann (Breslau), Professor Dr. Lamprecht (Leipzig), Professor Dr. Schmoller (Berlin), Professor Dr. Wundt (Leipzig), Professor Dr. Francke, Professor Dr. Von Harnack (Berlin), amidst the other dignitaries, our thoughts naturally turn to the whole class of Professors and their associated Universities, and we have to form a just estimate of the deliberate and emphatic manifestoes which they have issued. One or two specimens out of the host must suffice. If all the lesser lights are but reflections of these, then the darkness of the comparatively uncultured masses of German people is intelligible enough.

It can hardly be a surprise to find our old friend—from a Christian standpoint—Professor Haeckel leading the van of furious attack upon this country. He avows that—

This war will be a lasting stain on England's name. England is fighting not only on the side of barbarism but

¹ It is entitled *Germany's Great Lie—The Official German Justification of the War* (Hutchinson & Co., 1s.).

also of moral wrong, for it must not be forgotten that Russia started the war, because she would not allow ample atonement to be made for a wretched murder.

It is England's fault that the present war became a world-war, thereby endangering the whole of civilization. And why? Because England is jealous of Germany's greatness; because she wanted to prevent any increase of Germany's greatness, at all costs.

Now not only is every statement here made definitely and demonstrably false, but it is virtually contradicted by no less an authority than the eminent scientist himself. In his book on *A Visit to Ceylon*, Professor Haeckel remarks¹ :—

Since at the present day the successes of the English in Egypt are looked upon with disfavour in many quarters, I cannot here conceal my disagreement with this view. On the contrary, it appears to me that they should be hailed with satisfaction, alike on the ground of common humanity and on those of rational political action. The English are undoubtedly gifted beyond any other nation with the genius for founding and governing colonies. Instead, then, of watching the extension and consolidation of English power with grudging and envious eyes, we Germans should do better to study the political skill which brings progress and benefit to the whole human race.

How is it that the keen powers of perception manifest here—as in all the Professor's work—and the impartial judgement displayed, have so failed to make him now face the facts which make his diatribe above only a pitiful example of one-eyed and narrow-minded 'patriotism'?

The same cannot but apply to another influential

¹ See letter to *The Times* of December 12, by Rev. H. Long, returned Wesleyan Missionary, Spilsby, Lincs.

teacher, to meet whom in close association with Professor Haeckel must certainly occasion vast surprise. Philosophically, no two Professors could be more opposed than Haeckel and Eucken. The latter has been hailed of late years as a veritable rising sun, whereby all the darkness of Haeckelian materialistic monism would be for ever dissipated. Now, however, their differences, however vast, are all sunk in the overwhelming ocean of their anger towards this country. The most definite and specific utterance of Professor Eucken's sentiments has been published in this country in *Everyman* for December 4. Coming from such a teacher, it is in very deed an amazing and almost incredible production. That the 'Eucken' who has been belauded throughout the philosophical world as the man of the hour, and welcomed by some uninstructed Christians as the rescuer of Christianity from the perils of the age, should write these columns, is verily astounding. In these four columns, read carefully but without bitterness against him or his country, there are at least *thirty-six* definite statements which are utterly misleading. Indeed, the plain truth in regard to almost every one of these, is, that it is a lie. Such a grave indictment against so great a modern philosopher could not, of course, pass without some warrant. For which reason we will here give a few of his assertions, only on the distinct understanding that all the rest are of the same calibre. We find him, then, declaring in the Dutch paper, *Algemeen Handelsblad* :—

Startled out of her diligent peaceful work, Germany sees herself suddenly transplanted into the cares and dangers of war.

From all sides our enemies rise up ; everything of envy and hatred, which until the present has remained hidden, now comes to light.

Nowhere wavering or waiting, nowhere hesitating or halting, Germany goes on her way.

A whole people is led and governed by a single thought, to be an instrument in the hand of a higher power, to risk life and fortune for justice and truth, and at the same time to battle for the existence of the nation.

Germany did not wish this war ; it was forced on her.

The forty-four years that the German Empire has existed have been devoted to peace.

Verily, we have wicked neighbours in plenty.

The beginning of the whole movement was a common murder, which soon appeared to be the work of a widely organized conspiracy, the origin of which must be sought in Servia.

Now Holy Russia comes upon the scene, and stretches her protecting hand over the murderers and guards them.

A semi-Asiatic State that makes use of the conception of Pan-Slavism in order to bring under its dominion as great a number of peoples as possible.

We are battling for civilization against barbarism,¹ for order and justice against the wild lust of conquest.

In France the moral power to stimulate the people as a whole, and lift it up inwardly, is wholly wanting.

What have we done to England that she should immediately join our enemies, and everywhere try to blazon her hatred against us ?

In these solemn times, in the twinkling of an eye national

¹ An American comment hereupon may be interesting. The *New York Tribune* says :—‘ A loud cry has been raised in Berlin that the Germans are fighting for the defence of *higher Teutonic civilization* against the onrush of Muscovite barbarism. Yet the first exhibition given of the quality of Teutonic civilization under the stress of war is a list of violations of the laws of warfare and of the provisions intended to lessen military outrages which Germany herself made. Already Germany’s conduct in Belgium has set the progress towards civilized warfare back a hundred years. Will it go farther still, and by its provocation involve all Europe in retaliation which will recall the atrocities of the Thirty Years’ War ? ’

covetousness has gained the victory over all her protestations of friendship.

England declared war against us because she hoped to reap an advantage herself from it.

Our invasion of Belgium only provided a very welcome excuse to make common cause with our enemies.

England and France were envious of Germany's greatness. That was the sole motive.

That they should range themselves on the side of barbarism against civilization, of injustice against justice ; that they should fall on the back of another Germanic people fighting for self-preservation ; that is the morality, or rather the immorality, of a nation of shopkeepers.

To such people gain is above everything. Honour, justice, and conscience, what do they matter ? What can be bought with them ?

All our work has become great, because our soul was the all and whole of our goal, and not merely the pursuit of profit.

This struggle for the existence of our nation is at the same time a battle for all mankind, for the improvement of individuality in the spirit of their life ; for to us, as to no other nation, has Providence entrusted the care for the inner, for the individual worth of human existence.¹

¹ By the side of this falsity and bombast it may be useful just now to put Ruskin's estimate of the German nature, as contributed to *The Times* by Mr. J. G. Campbell :—' Sir,—It is of interest at the present time to recall Ruskin's estimate in 1874 of the German nature (*Fors Clavigera*, Vol. IV, p. 84) :—" Blessing is only for the meek and merciful ; and a German cannot be either ; he does not understand even the meaning of the words. In that is the intense, irreconcilable difference between the French and German natures. A Frenchman is selfish only when he is vile and lustful ; but a German, selfish in the purest states of virtue and morality. A Frenchman is arrogant only in ignorance ; but no quantity of learning ever makes a German modest. ' Sir,' says Albert Dürer of his own work (and he is the modestest German I know), ' it cannot be better done.' Luther serenely damns the entire Gospel of St. James because St. James happens to be not precisely of his own opinions. Accordingly, when the Germans get command of Lombardy, they bombard Venice, steal her pictures (which they can't understand a single touch of), and entirely ruin the country, morally and physically, leaving behind them misery

Of the sneering insults of this philosopher's thesis we will here take no notice. Contempt is all they merit. It is enough to point out, deliberately and emphatically, that every one of these his statements is a lie. Proof for such an avowal need not be reprinted here, because it has been already shown in authoritative records, of which it will suffice to mention two specimens only, viz. *Great Britain and the European Crisis*, and the *French Yellow Book*,¹ each published at a penny by our own Government. How far Professor Eucken should be pronounced a liar, is not for us to say. We do not know to what information he has had, or might have had, access. But it is our lamentable yet solemn duty to affirm that these assertions, which the uncultured take so confidently from him, are lying assertions, unworthy of any teacher of any nation upon earth.

Alas, he is far from being alone. Some ninety-three *savants*, in connexion with twenty-two Universities, have formulated a manifesto entitled *Appeal to the Civilized World*, which has been widely circulated both in this country and in America. On that side of the Atlantic, however, its false representations have been sufficiently exposed by President Church, of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, in a reply addressed to Dr. Schafer, of Berlin University. Therein Mr. Church points out that the whole of the official correspondence has been read by millions of American citizens, so that there

vice, and intense hatred of themselves, wherever their accursed feet have trodden. They do precisely the same thing by France—crush her, rob her, leave her in misery of rage and shame; and return home smacking their lips and singing *Te Deums*.’ ”

¹ The full title is *Diplomatic Correspondence Respecting the War, Published by the French Government*.

is no likelihood of their being hoodwinked. 'Study of the documents clearly proves that Germany was not forced into the war.' This judgement we shall find presently abundantly confirmed. On behalf of this country, a more than sufficient protest has also been made by some one hundred and twenty of our most distinguished Professors and men of science. It must be left for separate perusal. Enough here to report that these our leading men, whose knowledge and character are alike beyond question, definitely tell their fellow Professors in the Kaiser's land that they 'live under a government which we believe does not allow them to know the truth. Yet it is the duty of learned men to make sure of their facts.'

The boast of the German leaders, which is reiterated *ad nauseam* in all their pleas, as to their superiority in culture, is severely dealt with by Sir William Ramsay in *Nature*. Speaking about German aims and ambitions, he remarks :—

The aim of science is the acquisition of knowledge of the unknown, the aim of applied science the bettering of the lot of the human race. German ideals are infinitely removed from the conception of the true man of science ; and the methods by which they propose to secure what they regard as the good of humanity, are, to all right-thinking men, repugnant. These views are not confined to the Prussian ruling caste, although in it they find active expression ; they are the soul of the people.

From the surprisingly narrow and one-sided misrepresentations of men who might surely be expected to be judicial, if not impartial, we pass to the yet more amazing deliverances of professional theologians. These have really flooded Europe and

America with their protests. Perhaps the most noteworthy is the *Address of the German Theologians to the Evangelical Christians Abroad*.¹ It is signed by a number of the most eminent divines, including Deissmann, Harnack, Loofs, Eucken, Dryander, Herrmann, Kaftan, Richter, Wundt, &c., and has been frankly and fully dealt with in joint replies both by the Anglican and Free Churches. Here it will suffice to mention a few of the false German assertions—of which, carefully considered, there are at least *twenty-four*—together with the comments of one well-known Anglican divine.

Say these German pastors unitedly, amongst other things :—

For forty-three years our people has maintained peace; her ideal was peaceful work.

Only under the compulsion to repel a wanton attack has she now drawn the sword.

No scruple holds back our enemies, where in their opinion there is a prospect of seizing for themselves a fragment of our motherland, our colonial possessions, or our trade.

This war has been wantonly thrust upon our people.

Unnameable horrors have been committed against Germans living peaceably abroad—against women and children, against wounded and physicians, cruelties and shamelessness such as many a heathen and Mohammedan war has not revealed. Are these the fruits by which the non-Christian peoples are to recognize whose disciples the Christian nations are?

Even the not unnatural excitement of a people whose neutrality—already violated by our adversaries—could not under the pressure of implacable necessity be respected, affords no excuse for inhumanities.

¹ The full text of this, with a reply from Oxford 'To the Christian scholars of Europe and America,' can be obtained, price twopence, from the Oxford University Press. The reply is signed by twenty-five leading Oxford scholars.

Our people could not enter into this struggle with so clear a conscience if leading men of its ecclesiastical, scientific, and commercial life had not in such manifold ways exerted themselves to make this fratricidal strife impossible.

It has to be said, in plain speech, that every one of these assertions is a lie. The twenty-five scholarly signatories to the Oxford reply, content themselves with mildly pointing out seven instances in which the German plea—'is not true.' But so grave are the issues at stake that too much mildness may be disastrous. There is no such softness in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. Nor in the Apostle's protests against those who were wrecking the early Christian Church.¹ For which reason Canon Scott Holland is Christianly as well as nationally justified, in his vigorous protest against the assumptions and assertions of these German theologians. His words deserve earnest regard :—

This appeal is one of the most pathetic utterances which it has ever been our sorrow to listen to. First, these good men have been beguiled into believing a downright lie. They actually believe that Germany was not responsible for breaking the neutrality of Belgium ! They imply that France had done it already. They might know that France absolutely stood by that neutrality. It is down in black and white in a formal and official pledge. They must know that Germany had for years intended to break it. That, too, is down in black and white. They must know that Germany proposed to us that they would break it. Do they deliberately close their ears and their eyes, then, these Christian theologians ? They deliberately ignore the incident of the 'scrap of paper,' and the fact that this violation of Belgian neutrality was the sole cause which compelled England to declare war.

¹ See Gal. i. 8, 9 ; v. 12.

Germany, they plead, loves peace ; its nature is peace-loving, there are multitudes who desire nothing else. But why in the name of God, then, have these peace-lovers allowed their rulers to be what they are ? Why have they tolerated the policy, the diplomacy, which has made Germany a by-word in Europe ? Why have they allowed Militarism to create another Germany, which is an ironical confutation of the Germany which they portray to us ? Why does the German Empire, as a fact, stand for war and nothing else ? Why has the Emperor been free to lead the mad race in armaments ? Why is he the one enduring menace to the peace of Europe ? What have the good, homely, kindly, quiet-hearted, devout Germans whom we all know, been about, that they have let themselves be so belied ?¹

If it be still necessary to add emphasis to such a protest, reference may well be made to the reply of the Evangelical Churches, both Anglican and Free, which is signed by forty-two of their most representative leaders. As a reply it is equally dignified, courteous, and crushing. Two sentences will suffice to typify the way in which the false assumptions and assertions of the German manifesto are met. These forty of the ablest and noblest men in British Christendom say :—

It fills us with amazement that those who occupy the positions held by the signatories of this appeal, should commit themselves to a statement of the political causes of this war, which departs so strangely from what seem to us to be the plain facts of this grave hour in European history. To the most salient of the facts out of which the war has arisen, they make no reference at all.

The facts thus recited are, in our belief, incontestable.

¹ For the rest of this trenchant indictment, see Canon Scott Holland's own magazine, *The Commonwealth*.

We can only suppose that, incredible as it seems, those honourable and gifted men who signed the German appeal were unaware of the obligations by which we were bound, and also of the story of the negotiations. A violation of such promises on our part would have been an act of basest perfidy.

Alas, however courteous and 'incontestable' replies may be, they do not avail against the personal equation. Professor Harnack, whose learning and character no one will dispute, has taken upon him to issue a rejoinder; to which again a reply has been made by some dozen of the best-known theological scholars in the Free Churches. Certainly Professor Harnack, equally with Professor Eucken, has done his utmost to wreck his own high reputation. Let scholarship ever stand for its best and utmost, but what is a world of honest and intelligent men to make of any writer who refuses to be moved by plain and authoritative facts, and will not even admit that the German Chancellor was right in speaking of the invasion of Belgium as 'wrong'? What can any reader, innocent of sophistry, make of his avowal that, in regard to the violation of Belgium's neutrality, 'we were in a position in which formalities no longer existed, but only moral duties'? Would he not be well warranted in echoing to the Professor, with much more truth than Agrippa to Paul, 'Thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad'? For is it moral sanity to imply that 'moral duties' do not include and involve the keeping of a definite and solemn pledge? If his theological learning means that whenever it is convenient—or what amounts to the same thing, 'necessary'—any nation, or any man, may tear

up an authoritative bond as a mere 'scrap of paper,' and may treat a solemn engagement as a trifle, then he, the Church, and the world alike, would be far better without it. And if his conception of 'moral duties' also includes the devilries committed in Belgium by his compatriots—known now, to the whole world's indignation and execration, as 'Belgian atrocities'—then mankind will treat both his learning and his patriotism with utter scorn.¹

Unfortunately he is far from being the only one who, in the name of religion, is saying that which is demonstrably false and lamentably malicious against this country. That is why these pages are alike necessary and justified. The lesser lights follow the greater. German Pastors without number not only uphold patriotism at this juncture—as also British Pastors may well do—but they falsify facts, ignore most elementary moral principles, and do everything in their power to inflame their nation's heart with venomous hatred of all the inhabitants of Great Britain. It may safely be asserted that no religious teachers in our midst are doing that. If they do, they are at once an exception and a disgrace. But if we turn to Pastor Losche's pamphlet entitled *Thou Proud England, Be Ashamed*, which has had an immense circulation both in his own land and in America, we find such an exhibition of lies and rancour in the name of Christian patriotism, as may

¹ How hardly he is put to it to justify his attitude, and to what puerile falsities learning can stoop under pressure of prejudice, is witnessed in his actually finding a precedent for Germany's inexpressible abominations towards Belgium, in David's asking Abiathar to give him the shewbread for his starving soldiers !

well stagger the mind and heart of this whole generation. Like Harnack, he turns back to the Old Testament for illustrations of England's vileness. But neither Old Testament nor New suffices him. As to Cain and Abel, Ahab and Jezebel, or even Judas and Ananias, he meekly suggests :—

Our youth and adolescence were shocked with these awful examples of faithlessness, but all the horrors of the past, all the bloodstained annals of the darkest periods of history, are as naught compared with the treachery and blood-guiltiness of England. Death and destruction to the poison-mixers in the land of the Thames ! Cain, Ahab, Judas, and Ephialtes, were heroes compared with those rascals. They at any rate were ashamed of their deeds, but the red of shame mounts to the cheek of no Briton. The Britons have struck God a blow in the face.

Such abuse, which is a mild specimen of the rest of this Christian Pastor's fulmination, may be dismissed with pity. But the vituperation is surpassed by the lying. That he, an avowed representative of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, should speak of Englishmen as ' scoundrels ' all ; of Lord Kitchener as ' deserving to have a post erected by his grave, on which as ornaments a fool's cap and bells should be hung ' ; of our late king, Edward VII, as ' this degenerate scion of a princely German house ' ; and the like, we may regard with equanimity, as displaying only the quality of his own mind. But the reporter of this diatribe in our English press adds :—

Observe that this is a faithful transcript of Pastor Losche's language. And as he thinks, and as he expresses himself, so think and speak those vast sections of his countrymen whose representative he is.

That is the seriousness of the matter, and the only reason why it merits notice here. 'There are passages in this pamphlet so foul'—says the reviewer—'that I dare not write them.' They are not only foul but false. Yet how can we expect the people who hear and read his flamboyant falsities to do anything but believe him? He tells them, in God's name, that all Britons are rogues and liars; that our Government is corrupt and treacherous; that our Army under Sir John French is nothing but a sweeping up of the scourings of the slums; that the British Fleet is only crawling about in cowardly fashion seeking for an easy prey; that the whole country is smitten with panic; that King George is cringing with fear; with many other absurdities. And the people believe him. Is it any wonder that the nation is seething with implacable hate towards this country? Is there any prospect or possibility whatever of honourable or hopeful end to this awful struggle—whether sooner or later—so long as such lies remain unexposed, or such calumnies are permitted to pass unchallenged?

The saddest, most serious, and by far most difficult element in the whole case, is the unmitigated though astounding claim made by these Pastors, and therefore by their flocks, that the Christian God is wholly and only on their side. All fanaticism is difficult to deal with, but religious fanaticism most of all. Hundreds of instances might be gathered from the German press, to show how intensely this doctrine is preached and believed by those who vilify this country. Take one typical instance only. Pastor Samuel is well known and highly esteemed

in Berlin. Here are his recent words to an audience of five thousand people :—

God is not neutral. He is with the Germans. That is why He has placed them in the middle of Europe. After this war, they will be for ever the first nation of the earth. The bankruptcy of materialism is complete. The name of Idealist which has covered the whole nation from the beginning of this war, has been superb; but an idealism without religion must lead to final disaster. The victory of our arms is certain. Since Frederick the Great, Germany has attributed to God the habit of being on the strongest side; now we can say that He is behind our guns. But even if they are not the strongest, God is with us all the same.

This, then, is the general and immeasurable seriousness of the situation. Great Britain and all the Allies are not merely contending with a brutal militarism, as represented in the Kaiser, his heir, and the German war-lords, but with a great, strong, unified nation, completely convinced by its statesmen, philosophers, and religious teachers, that it is wholly in the right, whilst its adversaries are all wrong. We may, at present, say, write, print, expose, prove, what we will, as to the lying campaign through which this result has been brought about. There it is. What we do know to be false, they steadfastly believe to be true. That is a far greater difficulty ahead, than the expulsion of the invading hosts from Belgium, or pushing the war into the enemy's own country.

It becomes thus all the more incumbent upon us to specify at least a plain part of what *we do know to be true*, as against what is manifestly false. For this purpose it will now be necessary, after bearing in

mind the influence of Statesmen, Professors, and Pastors, to watch and estimate that of the daily press, which for ordinary folk is, after all, probably the most potent contributor to the weal or woe of our modern world.

No greater service has been rendered to the cause of truth in this country during these sad days than the regular survey in *The Times*, already mentioned, of the ever-changing situation, 'Through German Eyes.' Burns' oft-quoted words find here indeed tragic application :—

O, wad some Power the giftie gi'e us
To see oursel's as ithers see us !
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion.

There is much room for such deliverance in multitudes of minds around us. But there need be no difficulty in getting to know how Germany sees us, and how it is determined that nothing shall be lacking on its part to make the world see the same. One of the best-informed and most sober of our English newspapers has well said hereupon :—

The untiring efforts made by German diplomacy to instruct and influence neutral countries and to make them understand the German case from the German standpoint, are worth far more attention than they receive in this country. There is feverish eagerness in the campaign of slander conducted by innumerable German agents in every neutral country in the world. This clamant insistence that Germany has right on her side, and that she is as a good man in adversity, surrounded by wicked and envious neighbours—these frenzied efforts to prove to foreign neutrals that Germany has been the innocent victim of

the vilest machinations, especially by England, are as much a part of the German conduct of the war as her ruthless military operations on the plains of Poland, or among the fair towns of Belgium and France.

The two main centres of this propaganda are Berlin and Aix-la-Chapelle. But there are scores of co-operating organizations, and there is no lack of funds. The issues of this agency are perfect in their 'get-up,' and brilliantly one-sided in their representations. Everything is printed and illustrated to extol the virtues of the German soldiery, and proclaim the vices of the Allies. Especially anything and everything that can be made to pour contumely on British arms and methods, is employed without any regard at all to truth. One who knows it all intimately at first hand, has recently said in public :—

The distortions and perversities of these articles written to instruct the ignorant foreigner are appalling ; and one does not know whether to be more amazed at the stupidity of the lies, or at the belief of the writers that intelligent foreigners can be found to give credence to this farrago of falsehoods.

A typical specimen may be taken from the issue of any respectable paper on almost any day. In this day's report—on which these lines are written—for instance, Sir Alfred Sharpe, travelling in Bulgaria, writes :—

In the café attached to the principal hotel in Sofia, on asking if they had an English newspaper, I was given a sheet headed *The Continental Times, an American Paper in Europe*, Special War Edition. Before I had read many

lines I learned that Egypt had been successfully invaded by a Turkish Army ; India was about to be overrun by an army of Afghans, who could put several millions of men in the field ; a revolution was imminent in Great Britain ; the British fleet was gradually being destroyed ; and so on.

Turning to the end of the paper, I found that it was published at 38 Augsburger Strasse, Berlin ; printed by Saling & Co., Berlin, and issued three times a week in Rotterdam, Lucerne, Geneva, and Rome. The Germans are indeed indefatigable in these matters, and it is amusing to see how they love these dishonest methods of endeavouring to prejudice their enemies in the eyes of those whose friendship they temporarily seek, for their own purposes.

The main organs which in Germany are being ceaselessly employed for these purposes, are the Wolff Wireless Agency, the *Cologne Gazette*, the *North German Gazette*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Berlin Lokalanzeiger*, with the *Neue Freie Presse*. But there are numberless others which copy, with additions, whatever spicy bits the more influential papers print. So is the German nation fed upon lies.¹ And how far the native press is from being ashamed, may be gathered

¹ Mr. Hilaire Belloc, whose competence both as observer and reporter no one in this country will question, seems to regard this condition of things as rather a late degeneration. In *Land and Water* he says— 'The official German *communiqués*, formerly so accurate, begin to contain deliberately exaggerated and foolish statements, e.g. that 15,000 English have been drowned in the river Yser ; that there have been no losses of men or of material in front of the river Niemen ; that progress is slow but sure ; and lastly that a vast decisive battle has been won in Poland, the said decisive battle being the advance in a month's fighting over a belt of about twenty miles with no envelopment of the enemy and no maintained piercing of his line.' This was written December 26, 1914. But it would be all too easy to adduce lies as real as the three he here quotes, which appeared long before then in the German papers. But, as he also says, 'Prussia believes in calculated illusion for the masses, and carries it out in detail.'

from the unblushing utterance of the *Cologne Gazette* :—

Circumstances often compel us to swerve from the right path, and to answer lies by lies. When our soldiers' strong arms will have prevailed, we shall be glad to return to our habit of strict frankness.

So, once more, if we needed it, we have a specimen of the morality of the German 'culture.' Whenever 'circumstances' dictate, 'swerve from the right' and tell lies wholesale. You can make it up afterwards. So the echo of von Bethmann Hollweg's sophistry permeates the community, that 'Necessity knows no law,' and morality between individuals has no counterpart between nations.

This general attitude is serious enough and sad enough for the German nation itself. But the mischief and the tragedy of the present case is that this same process of deception is repeated with emphasis in every neutral country in the world. Not only newspaper reports, but myriads of booklets, pamphlets, leaflets, in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, have been circulated through Europe, America, and South Africa, on the same lines. As a most competent observer, long resident in Germany, has recently shown :—

The Berlin Foreign Office, the various leading chambers of commerce, the merchants' guilds, the famous Hansa League, and other important bodies, have united their forces and employed their organizations in the creation and distribution of enormous masses of literature in foreign countries intended to support the cause of Germany and Austria-Hungary against all devices of the enemy, and to show that all the ambition, all the sin and iniquity, all the

greed and malice and envy, are on the side of the Allies, whilst Germany and her friend have all through this struggle been the torch-bearers of civilization and furtherers of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

Of course, this campaign of lies includes the magnification of every occasional success by Germany on land or sea, and the exaggeration of the Allies' losses; with utterly false reports concerning the condition of social and domestic matters throughout these realms, and especially scornful and revolting lies as to the recruits who have answered Lord Kitchener's appeal to British youth. Ridiculous and contemptible as these representations seem to us in this country, we must face the fact that the greater part of those to whom they are sent, are led to believe them. It is true that the determined propaganda on these lines in America, under the special guidance of Count Bernstorff, Herr Dernburg, and Professor Münsterberg, has quite failed of its purpose, and the elaborate attempt to hoodwink our Transatlantic cousins mentioned above—in the reference to Mr. Sladen's volume—has only recoiled upon those responsible for it. The latest exhibition of this failure—up to the time of writing these pages—is seen in the influential *Philadelphia Ledger*, where Mr. J. W. White and Miss A. Repplier pillory some of Herr Dernburg's attempts to whitewash Germany and traduce Britain. The unblushing claim, for instance, of this German patriot, that his country 'has waged no war of any kind, and has never acquired a territory in all her life except by treaty,' meets with the deservedly stinging reminder that Americans are not all such fools as to

forget Hanover, or Schleswig-Holstein, or Poland, or Silesia, or Alsace and Lorraine. If all the other efforts of the noted three German special-pleaders are producing anything like the scathing response of these Philadelphians, it would be most advisable that they should return to Berlin. As, for instance, the following plain truth from these two writers :—

What wonder that, knowing themselves forsworn, the Germans should strive to cast the guilt of their perfidy on Belgium's shoulders? What wonder that, knowing themselves to be unprincipled aggressors, they should have the hardihood to say that Belgium plotted against the peace of Europe? There is no hatred so deep as that which we bear to the man we have wronged. There is no sight so bitter to a nation's eyes as the unstained honour of another nation it has dishonourably despoiled. As long as history is taught, the tale of Germany's broken word and Belgium's brave resistance will be told the world. As long as men stay men, they will loathe the oppressor and revere the indomitable courage of the oppressed. As long as truth stays truth, the blot on Germany's escutcheon will remain uneffaced and uneffaceable.

For Herr Dernburg's argument that Great Britain and Belgium between them are responsible for the latter country's present condition; for his assertion that Canada by participating in the war committed 'a wilful breach of the Monroe doctrine'; and for his frantic assurances that, whatever happens, the Monroe doctrine is none the less in the enjoyment of Germany's complete patronage and respect, his American critics have merely an amused disdain. But they plainly tell him that the picture he draws of his own country is one that few Americans will recognize, and fewer still be able to reconcile with the facts that at this moment are under their very eyes.

Another most recent instance of the same campaign of lies is afforded in the publication, in New York, of a new weekly paper called *The Fatherland*,

which is being urged also upon the people of these realms by circular. One of these, sent to an English country house, runs :—

Do you want to hear the other side of the great European conflagration? Do you want to see fair play for Germany and Austria-Hungary in their struggle for self-preservation? Are you tired of spending your pennies for battles made by the head-line artist? Then subscribe to *The Fatherland*, a weekly devoted to fair play for Germany.

Perhaps an instance of the kind of 'fair play' supplied, may be here advisable. Dr. Seeck, the historian, contributes it, and in substance what it amounts to is

that Germany since 1870 has wanted no more territory; that if she has ever threatened war it has been only for Austria-Hungary's sake; that England is the real instigator of the present struggle; that Belgium has deservedly brought all her misfortunes upon herself; that Grey's 'asininity' has done the Germans a great favour, by plunging England into war instead of waiting until both parties were exhausted; that English workmen are forcibly prevented from denouncing war; that English merchantmen are being captured on all the seas; that the Germans retreated in France without fighting and for well-founded strategic reasons;

and more of the same sort. Surely the stupidity of lying can receive no more lurid illustration. These highly 'cultured' patriots appear to think that the gullibility of Americans is unlimited. It may be—as *The Times* remarked—that

For home consumption in Germany, almost anything will do. The German Press Bureau's contempt for the

beschränkten Untertanenverstand of their countrymen, remains profound. Bismarck himself used to give Busch the false addresses from which communications were to be dated, and assign the false characters in which they were to be written.

But other nations are not such mental babes as to be thus deceived by poisoned sweets. Dr. Dessoir has valid reason indeed for pointing out—what will probably not procure him an Iron Cross—that his compatriots are fouling their own nest by these endeavours.

At the same time there is an element of seriousness in it all for the Allies, and especially for this country. Only too good grounds can be alleged for saying that ‘it is about time that Englishmen employed their gifts for business organization in counteracting the effects of the lies turned out wholesale by the German press machinery.’ There are limits, after all, to the policy of letting things evil ‘severely alone.’ Silence may sometimes be golden; but at other times it may equally be ruinous. We have to consider in such a crisis as is now upon us, not what other nations *ought* to believe; not what they *would* believe if they knew the whole facts as they are; not what they *will* some day have to believe when the facts are put beyond sane denial; but what they *do* now actually believe, for want—if we credit them with moral probity—of reliable information. Take, for instance, the case of Holland. The Dutch people are not unfriendly to us. They know too well what they would have to expect if Germany triumphed. The correspondent of the *Morning Post*, just arrived from Brussels, speaks from first-hand knowledge of

what is now taking place in Holland, in the circulation of pro-German tracts :—

They are four-page leaflets, small octavo size, issued regularly from a central office situated, if I recollect right, in Berlin. German firms send them to their Dutch correspondents. I believe, too, that many private Dutch people get them from friends in Germany. One number contains a long description of the famous documents which the Germans pretend to have found in Belgium archives in Brussels. These are said to prove that long before the war Belgium had agreed to join England and France in a war of aggression against Germany. If only the Dutch people believe one-tenth of the lies thus set before them, their feelings, which on the whole at present are anti-German, if not pro-British, may well alter.

All this is very dangerous for the Allies, who cannot afford to let all these libels go unanswered. It is not sufficient for us to say—‘Our conscience is easy, our cause is good ; it needs no justification.’ However good a cause may be, it is always worth defending.

The ‘defence’ which is here so reasonably advocated, necessitates brief consideration of what is issuing from all these and other German sources in three directions, viz. to the Army and Navy, to the German Nation, to the World at large.

(1) It is acknowledged on all hands that the *morale* of an army or navy is of the greatest importance. The question then becomes urgent how it is to be kept up, in face of a prolonged struggle, and in default of inspiring victories. Both these conditions have obtained in regard to the German hosts during the last few months, in spite of all their previous preparations and initial confidence. How, then, are they to be kept from depression?

The German military answer is, 'By lying.' The lies have been twofold: negative, in concealing from them what was known to be true; positive, in giving them as fact what was known to be false. We may illustrate this almost sufficiently from the Kaiser himself. Here is his New Year's address to the German Army and Navy:—

After five months of severe fighting, we begin a New Year. Brilliant battles have been won and great successes gained. Repeated attempts of the enemy to overrun German territory with their great armies have failed. On all the seas my ships have covered themselves with glory. Behind my army and navy stands the German people in unprecedented unity, ready to sacrifice its best for the sacred homes and hearths which we are defending against an outrageous invasion. Trusting in God's wise guidance, I also trust in my army and navy. Therefore with courage into the New Year, to fresh victories for the beloved Fatherland.

For men who know nothing of the facts, and add to their love of the Fatherland blind adoration of their supreme Ruler, this sort of thing will doubtless prove enheartening. None the less it is doubly false. False in that it conceals all the fearful blunders and frightful losses through repeated catastrophes which have decimated their hosts; false in its exaggeration of 'victories' which happened at the outset through the unpreparedness of the Allies. It will save space here to give the summary of *The Times* for the same period, seeing that it rests on unquestionable facts:—

Considering the perfection in every detail of the German preparation for a war of aggression, the achievements of

the Allies in five months are as great as could reasonably be expected. France has been saved, and nowhere have the Germans been able to deliver the shattering blows on which their plan of campaign was based. There has not been a single great victory to raise the hopes of the German people, to whom the truth has been denied. The policy of Germany now stands unmasked, and is at length recognized as a deadly danger to the liberties of mankind. The degradation of her moral life has been exhibited in a shameless disregard of honour and of truth.

In addition to the facts which make this reply to the Kaiser's half-blasphemous boasting sufficient and final, it will yet be worth while to note its confirmation from a source which cannot be suspected of anti-German prejudice, viz. the private letter of a German Protestant Chaplain with their troops in France. Written to an intimate friend also at the front—on whose dead body it was found—it acknowledges 'the complete failure of the plans of the Prussian General Staff, and a growing feeling that the result of the war is bound to be disaster,' and proceeds:—

Excuse me for being so frank, but if the French had not been so tired they could have done anything they liked with us. We were happy to find the impregnable quarries that those idiots of French had allowed us to prepare during peace. We were to have been in Paris in three weeks. The General Staff bragged enough about it to us. Here we are now after four months of war, and are we going to Paris now? I, for one, doubt it. The Frenchmen are not all rotten, as was said so often. The truth has been hidden from us, but the French aeroplanes have thrown us Swiss newspapers. And who would have believed it? Their organization is not in disorder at all; the prisoners we take are well fed and in want of nothing. Despite the attacks of our best troops, for the Imperial Guard has

done what it could, we are held up fairly and squarely everywhere. The enemy is gaining strength every day, and I dare not think of the future.

That this honest summary expresses the truth of the situation, every impartial watcher of events knows well.

Two other testimonies from men actually in the fight, whose witness is sufficiently guaranteed, and is first-hand, must suffice for this class of lies :—

We had one of the *Emden's* officers on board here for a few days. He was a naval reserve man, and a very good chap. He had had no news since the war started, and was much interested in our papers. He shook his head sadly over the destruction of Louvain, but refused to believe the stories of German atrocities. Germans, he said, would not do such things. The men of the *Emden* had been told that the British Fleet was all sunk, and that the Germans were in Paris.

Another unimpeachable witness from the front says :—

There is no doubt that all Germans captured expect to be killed by us, for two Gurkhas whom I spoke to yesterday told me that the prisoners they took put their hands together and asked to be spared. This is an explanation also of the fact that Germans open fire on us when we try to pick up their wounded.

Had they any valid reason for such fear, under civilized warfare? Yes, they had. For not only had they been falsely told so by their leaders, but they knew well that orders for the slaughter of all the wounded had been definitely given on their

side. About this also, of course, German lies have been told. Baron Romberg, at Berne, took upon him to deny it officially. What has he done? Only called forth unimpeachable proof of the truth. The French Embassy at Berne has given the *Gazette de Lausanne* the signed text of General Stenger's order, along with direct first-hand evidence of its execution. This is the order, signed by the Commander of the 58th Brigade of the 14th Baden Corps, August 26 :—

From to-day there are to be no more prisoners. All prisoners are to be put to death. The wounded, with or without arms, are to be put to death. Prisoners even when forming big units, are to be put to death. Not a man alive is to be left behind us.

That this was acted upon, was testified by more than a score of German soldiers, and there is good reason to believe that this order was issued elsewhere as early as August 9. No valid ground exists for questioning this evidence. It is confirmed by the attitude of numberless German prisoners. So we have the unmitigated blasphemy of a Kaiser calling this diabolical brutality—'God's wise guidance'; and the insufferable insolence of a whole nation endorsing it, in the name of the superior 'culture' which it feels divinely guided to impose upon the rest of the world.

(2) We turn now to this nation and see how, at least in part, its guilt may be lessened by the fact that it has been lied to unsparingly by those who profess to guide its destinies. Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, in one of the excellent little *Oxford Pamphlets*

on the War,¹ takes us back to an important starting-point :—

Bismarck's last deliberate work was to teach his countrymen the falsehood that England was their enemy. He gave Lord Granville to understand that Germany wanted no colonies. Then he put to him questions apparently harmless, and of no urgency, published Lord Granville's answers without their full context, and so misrepresented England as opposed to the acquisition by Germany of any possessions whatever beyond the seas. Germany was furious, and England puzzled. Thus was sown in Germany that hatred of England, which has for thirty years been nourished by German publicists, and burst into flame during the South African War, which no one in Germany understood.²

Alas, the seed sown fell into fertile soil, thanks to the labours of Chamberlain and Treitschke. The notion which first possessed many in this country, that we were only called upon to fight the military class in Germany, has long been dispelled. We now know, all too well, that the whole nation approved of the war; entered enthusiastically into it; supports the Kaiser in all his braggadocio; and is prepared to fight to the last, filled with ever-intensifying hatred for England as the cause of all its troubles. 'In their view,' it has been truly said, 'their country has been wantonly attacked, with the object of destroying its influence and hindering its progress, and is thus engaged purely in a war of defence. We know by many infallible proofs that this is the reverse of the true state of affairs, but we cannot expect the Germans to see things

¹ Oxford University Press, twopence each.

² *Great Britain and Germany*, Spencer Wilkinson, p. 7.

as we see them.' That is to say, they have been fed on lies, and have developed accordingly.

Almost the latest instance of this has been the revelation of a secret report (of March 13, 1913) which fell into the hands of the French Government. We learn from the publication of this report that

neither France, England, nor Russia will now be able to turn us from our end, which is to strengthen and to extend *Deutschtum* (German rule) throughout the entire world.

For this meek and modest purpose, the document goes on to show, 'the German nation is to be hoodwinked, and led to think an offensive war on our part a real necessity.' The German people are also to be made so to feel the burden of armaments, the sacrifices they involve and the resultant political tension, that

the outbreak of war shall be considered as a deliverance, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, such as those which followed 1870. In the next European war the small states must be forced to follow us, or must be cowed. As to Luxemburg and Belgium, the matter is vital to us, and therefore Germany must take the offensive in great superiority from the outset, so as to be able to crush them in case of armed resistance.

From these and other similar documents it thus becomes incontrovertible—in spite of all the fulminations of German Professors and the anathemas of their Theologians—that Germany has been steadily and definitely preparing for many years to make aggressive war. Italy was abundantly warranted in her refusal to participate.

It is small wonder that just now—whilst these

pages are in the press—an outburst of reckless frankness should come from the *enfant terrible* of German journalism, Herr Maximilian Harden. In his startling *Zukunft*, he openly declares that ‘Germans are being kept gravely in the dark regarding the real situation.’ So, instead of echoing the Kaiser’s jubilation that ‘God has so magnificently supported’ the German troops, and that all the stay-at-homes need do is to repeat the plaint of the mother of Sisera,¹ he sombrely declares :—

Germany must hold herself ready for the sternest necessities. Any one who tries to lull her to sleep, be he prince or valet, renders himself guilty of a crime for which there will be no pardon.

After that, surely the Kaiser will send him an Iron Cross of the first class.

It would be wearisome to enumerate definitely each specific lie which careful watching has had to mark during these recent months, but they are none the less actual and stubborn, in whatever way they are exposed. The lamentable fact which we have, as British citizens, to face, is that—with the sole exception of the Socialist organ, *Vorwaerts*—nothing but vituperation, based on falsehoods, characterizes the general expressions of German leaders of thought, and the most influential journals. A few instances only shall here serve as truly typical of numberless others.

It was bad enough, in all conscience, that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* should deliberately publish, on August 30 in Germany, and the following day in

¹ See Judges v. 28–30.

Constantinople, the report of a speech by Mr. John Burns, in which all manner of things were said disparaging to England, when no such speech was ever delivered. Did the German journal confess that it was all a lie? No. The hoodwinked public in that country had to wait for foreign disillusion.

But whatever motives may have led Mr. John Burns to take his exceptional position, his motive, we do know, was not one whit more pure than that of Sir Edward Grey, in the very much more influential part which the latter was called upon to play. In regard, then, to Sir Edward, what has been the manner in which the German press has sought to influence the nation? The correspondent of the *Christian World*—who has lived long in Berlin, and speaks from intimate knowledge—puts it thus :—

Let us take, for example, the treatment to which Sir Edward Grey is being subjected. If there is one man more than another who sought peace at all costs, who lived laborious months with that single object in view, who is recognized by all reasonable beings the world over as having strained every nerve to prevent this awful catastrophe, it is the British Foreign Secretary. In this country we know him as an upright, stainless, and chivalrous English gentleman, a type of the most honourable school of politicians, a man embodying the best traditions of our race. But he has been singled out by German detractors as the personification of the political vices of perfidious Albion, as the man, more than any other, in which the hypocrisy and the low huckstering of the British have their surest representative. Writers in what were once regarded as reputable journals, state with absolute explicitness that Sir Edward Grey is responsible for this war, and that long before hostilities broke out he was hatching and plotting, weaving the web into which Russia and France were to fall, and with a low

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cunning and unscrupulousness, akin to that of the worst Italian models, he neglected nothing which, in his opinion, would contribute to the overthrow of the hated German Empire.

And one of 'the most moderate of the German journals' refers to our Foreign Secretary after this fashion :—

He is the personification of the English nature. This haggard-visaged and ice-cold egotist, with his eagle nose and the glance of a bird of prey, who knows little of the French language, who never reads a foreign newspaper, and whose unspeakable British arrogance has prevented him studying any foreign countries at first hand, is the man who has hounded on our enemies to overwhelm us, because he thinks he can best serve his own Fatherland in this way.

Another journal speaks of him as

the silent spirit of evil, cold, calculating, cruel, whom no humane considerations for the welfare and happiness of others will turn from his dark and inscrutable purposes. He is a statesman for whose prototype we must seek among the dark and tortuous annals of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages.

The *Cologne Gazette*, moreover, describes him as

the great liar of 1911 and 1914, who has introduced a new kind of diplomacy, by reducing British Ministers and Ambassadors to the position of menials in the service of calumny.

This journal is said to be 'one of the most respectable and influential in Germany.' If so, other papers must be in a parlous condition. For this 'respectable' journal does not hesitate to publish, as reliable news, the downright lie that Sir Edward

Grey 'forwarded to British representatives in neutral countries, with instructions to communicate it to their respective governments,' a document which was nothing but a mendacious fabrication from beginning to end. It were an insult to one of the noblest of our statesmen to defend him from any such calumnies. They speak for themselves, and recoil on those who utter them.

The feeling now prevalent in Germany against this country is all too well known. How that bitterness arose, and is continually maintained, needs no further explanation than the deliberate though lying representations of the German press. Out of a 'legion' of instances, take these only.

In the *Neue Freie Presse* Professor Schiemann, of Berlin, thus expresses himself :—

Notwithstanding all their boasting the English are seized with sheer fright. Already they have called all their satraps into the field, and thrown them against the German guns and bayonets, for they want to fight on French not on English soil. But the spectre of invasion torments them. Martial law has already been proclaimed everywhere in Great Britain and Ireland. They keep their fleet in hiding, and the fabric of their Empire has begun to crack since two enemies have appeared in their own house. Ireland is in a state of revolt, and Islam has risen.

All this, of course, is pure lying. But has any 'respectable' journal repudiated it?

Or, again, take the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which is said to be the 'most moderate organ in Germany.' This is the kindly and truthful way in which it represents this country to its compatriots :—

The English have won successes not in any open battle with an enemy capable of resistance, but only where they

were greatly superior. Therefore they have compensated themselves by a shameful system of robbing and plundering. They conduct the war not like a civilized people, but like common pirates. As all the world has already seen, ideal motives never had any deciding importance for them from the beginning, but they fought solely for personal and economic interests and in the efforts to destroy their chief economic competitor. They no longer have any respect for the law. They acquit themselves of all their obligations, rob private property, and declare all the subjects of enemy states to be prisoners.

Everything which has hitherto passed as international law has been trodden under foot by the English. They have carried on the war not like a *Kultur* nation, but like a robber state, and their meanest instincts have broken out. That, of course, does not prevent them from posing as the appointed protectors of right, and of *Kultur*, but they will no longer impose upon impartial critics by their hypocrisy.

If this tissue of lies be taken as a fair specimen, from a 'moderate' journal, of German 'culture,' the modern world surely needs no further warrant for declining it without thanks. And when the National Liberal leader, Herr Bassermann, writing as a Major and Aide-de-camp of the Military Governor of Antwerp, in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, says,

The moral force of Germanism will conquer, and will defeat the miserable English spirit, which wants to prop up its money-bags with millions of corpses. We shall master that pirate people, which forces its tyranny upon the seas, just as we have already mastered the giant armies of Russia,

we are driven to see that the repulsiveness of the lying is equalled by the extent of the influence it is likely to wield upon those who take it for truth.

Amongst the more than a hundred lies definitely

exhibited in the book above mentioned,¹ which was only intended for America, occurs the avowal, endorsed by the forty-five 'intellectuals,' that 'the German Army is a weapon which can be and is only used for defence against foreign aggression.' Upon this Mr. Sladen truly remarks :—

But aggressions come when the Kaiser orders them. He has only to give the word to Austria, as he gives the word to Hamman, for a campaign of lies against England in the press, and the *amour propre* of the nation insulted by Austria may be trusted to do the rest.

It would be pitifully easy to specify the items in this 'campaign of lies.' They are such as these. That Britain has long been envious of Germany, and plotted her ruin. That Britain has become obsessed with hatred for Germany, and only longs for her downfall. That Britain wanted war, and intended to bring it about. That Britain only decided upon war with a view to her own gain. That the whole British nation is seething with discontent, and that a revolution on social grounds is imminent. That a great majority of the people never approved of the war, and are now opposing it. That Ireland is so cruelly oppressed and bitterly resentful that she may be expected to side with Germany against England. That the whole character of the British people has so deteriorated that they are now nothing but a nation of effeminate, decadent, cowardly, selfish shopkeepers. That Britain alone is really responsible for the outbreak of the war. That Britain, above all, or only, is the enemy which Germany has to fear and fight. So we might go on.

¹ See p. 35.

These items are neither imaginations nor exaggerations. That they are lies, every intelligent citizen in these realms, Pacifists included, knows well. Some of them by their very stupidity, others by their sheer audacity, sufficiently answer themselves. One or two matters, however, need a little more scrutiny. We are rightly proud of our soldiers. It may be denied now that the Kaiser spoke of our 'contemptible little army'—such denial is by no means established—but we know that the German compulsory military system has been lauded as the best on earth, and it has been a commonplace among the maintainers of that system, that Britain had no army worth thinking of. So far as numbers and warlike preparedness are concerned, there was some truth in the estimate. But amongst the colossal blunders made by the leaders of the nation that claims to be the greatest in the world, was the foolish ignoring of the potentiality of this country to develop an army, if such were made necessary by others. This, however, is what has come to pass, to such an extent as to provoke alike the admiration, the hatred, the fear, of our foes. And in some cases, not a few, compensation has been sought in lies. With these the leading articles of recent German newspapers have literally been seething. The *Hamburger Nachrichten* may be taken as a fair type of the way in which lying and abuse have been made to blend. In an extraordinary article concerning the attitude of German women, we find the following :—

German women are in no sense open to the charge that they had not fulfilled their duties of education. They have recognized their task with perfect accuracy. Just

like the men, they have seen for years to what English policy must necessarily lead, and have made their preparations. . . . The sons of German mothers are fashioned in the image of God, who brought a sword into the world. But the sons of French, English, Russian, and Belgian mothers have shown themselves to be as beasts which shoot with horribly tearing bullets at German warriors, mutilate German wounded, and commit murder.

Again : the *North German Gazette* must have been pressed for copy when, on *September 17*, it published the following letter written by a German officer relating to what had happened nearly a month before, as if it was then the whole truth. Whereas, in the interval, the Germans had been thoroughly beaten at the Marne and compelled to retreat :—

We have beaten some five or six corps of French and English, so that *our front is now free, and the road to Paris (sixty miles) stands open* for the —— German Army. It is as though the English had been blown away. They must have a great number of dead, wounded, and missing—it is said many thousands. They retreated on the road on which we are marching, and so we could see how they must have been broken up. Statements by prisoners show that the English soldiers *had never been told that they were going to war*. It is a good thing that they have had a good thrashing.

In his *Northern Cobbler*, Tennyson makes Sally cry, ‘That caps owt,’ and the expression is hard to beat, as a summary of unparalleled audacity. It applies exactly to a further performance of the same journal, which publishes, as ‘a prophecy which has been brilliantly fulfilled,’ the following letter :—

A retired British major of the Royal Engineers who, when war broke out, was staying in the place where I live, said

to me at the beginning of July, 'I am convinced that not Germany but France is the disturber of the peace in Europe. Unfortunately, our Government has entered into obligations towards France which perhaps it would be glad now to cancel. I can tell you in confidence that my brother last year saw with his own eyes in the War Office a treaty which binds England, in the event of a war between France and Germany, to send a large expeditionary corps to Belgium, which, in conjunction with the Belgian Army, would form the left wing of the French advance.' When I asked in astonishment, 'But is not Belgium a neutral country which will not necessarily fight against Germany?' I received the answer, 'That must be seen to.' My English friend added, 'I hope with my whole heart that it will not come to a European war, because, after what I have seen of the German Army, I and the great majority of my comrades are convinced that our army would go to disaster. Our army is the worst in Europe, and the fellows would run like hares.'

All that one can desire in reading this pernicious nonsense is the name of the retired British major. But so precious was it all in the sight of German journalists, that the *Cologne Gazette* also published it—and the people who read it believed it.

As regards our soldiers, one cannot be surprised that bitter things have been said about them by some of their staggered foes. But though they have been held up to the German nation as examples of cowardice and brutality, such lies need no refutation. For besides the indubitable fact that anything like 'atrocities' have never been known in either their victories or defeats, it has been truly said in public that 'not one instance of disgraceful conduct has been proved against them. Their conduct has been most exemplary.'

But one special attempt to slander them, from highest quarters, must not pass unnoticed. It

refers primarily to the Belgians, but also to French and English soldiers. In a definite bulletin, issued in many languages by the Bureau des Deutschen Handelstages, Berlin, occurs the following paragraph :—

England will tell your countrymen that German troops have burned down Belgian villages and cities; she will, however, suppress the fact that young Belgian girls put out the eyes of defenceless wounded soldiers lying on the battleground. Officials of the Belgian cities invited our officers to dine with them, and then shot at them across the table. Against all international law the entire civil population of Belgium was called out, and these private citizens after a seemingly friendly reception to our troops, attacked them from the back with concealed weapons in the most cruel fashion. England will also not tell you of the dum-dum bullets which, in spite of all agreement and of hypocritical assertions of humanity, have been made use of, and which you may here see in the original packages as they were found on the persons of French and English prisoners. His Majesty the Kaiser has authorized me to make this statement. . . .

Now this whole slander is not only false, it is a special lie in five respects. It emanates directly from the Imperial Chancellor Herr von Bethmann Hollweg; it is by him definitely attributed to the Kaiser; it was specially given to representatives of the American Press; it was sent by Dr. Liebknecht to the Hospital of Lichterfelde, where—said a widely circulated Berlin paper—‘ten wounded German soldiers lie whose eyes have been put out by accursed hands,’ and received the reply from the surgeon, Dr. Rautenberg—‘There is no truth whatever in such reports’; the falsity of it was publicly announced by the German Socialist organ,

Vorwaerts—an honourable exception to the usual lying papers—in these words :—

Rumours of German soldiers whose eyes have been put out by franc-tireurs are afloat all over Germany. *Not one single instance* of the sort has been officially confirmed ; and as far as the stories could be tested in detail, they have been proved untrue.¹

Quite recently, we hear, the Kaiser has conferred an Iron Cross on Herr von Bethmann Hollweg. Was it for assisting to spread the above lie ? At least, we have the staggering spectacle of the German Chancellor and his Imperial Master publicly convicted of lying by their own countrymen.

At various times and in varying degrees, threats, we know, have been made by Germany, of ' reprisals ' for ' systematic ill-treatment of German prisoners ' in this country. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, as usual, distinguishes itself in this special brand of lie. It reported that ' within one week, out of 700 prisoners at Newbury, 46 had died from pneumonia or typhoid.' The facts were, that out of that whole number, *five* died ; one from heart disease, two from aortic aneurism, one from fractured skull (by accident), one through dropsy. Did the mendacious journal apologize ? No ; it does not belong to German ' culture ' to acknowledge its sins. Rather it fabricated another lie.

¹ Whether such cases have actually occurred at German hands, may be left for the present, to the evidence which is being accumulated concerning Belgian atrocities. But Mr. Hilaire Belloc, who has a reputation to lose, stated recently, before a vast audience in Sheffield, that there was a case known to him of a little child, then in the South-West of England, whose eyes had been gouged out, and its hands cut off, by the German soldiery. That should suffice.

This time it was that 'prisoners from Dorchester had been put on to the English ship *Canada* at Ryde, on purpose to serve to avert, or interfere with, an eventual German attack on Portsmouth.' Needless to say, this was as big a lie as the foregoing. On the other hand, the *Dresdner Anzeiger* states, on the authority of the German Foreign Secretary, that the United States Ambassador in London, at the special request of the German Government, carefully inquired into the condition of German prisoners in this country, and found it quite satisfactory. Yet, for all that, the threats of 'reprisals' continue; showing, only too plainly, that the truth is not wanted.¹

The general campaign in France, Belgium, Poland, and Turkey, is far too complex to be surveyed here. But it provides innumerable instances of what one of our leading dailies affirmed recently :—

The German war news has for a long time been deliberately falsified, so that the people have no real idea of what was happening to their armies, and have fancied that both in West and East they were engaged in a long series of triumphs.

This may well be illustrated from the *Tägliche Rundschau*—the favourite organ of German Army

¹ As this page is being written, the following appears in the press :—'Two hundred Germans rescued from the *Nurnberg* and *Gneisenau* at Falkland Islands arrived in England to-day. On landing they were escorted by an armed guard, and conveyed to the interment camps. They appeared quite happy, and as each batch of twenty or thirty separated from their companions and marched to the railway station they shouted and cheered to those remaining on the tender.' 'Reprisals' are required for this.

and Navy officers, which says, in a homily on 'The nineteenth week of the war':—

An honourable and secure peace can only be obtained after further victories. In the East we have broken the Russian offensive for a long time. Russian attacking power is lamed, and the moral courage of her armies is sinking, while our troops go forward in the confidence of victory. In the West we have taken territory from the enemy step by step, and wait impatiently for the day when his resistance will collapse, or when he faces us in open battle in the field. The burden of the war is oppressing France ten times as much as us. How long France, for England's sake, will hold out, we must wait and see. Perhaps the day is not far distant when the French, as already the Belgians, will renounce the pact which compels them to bleed to death in England's interests. We can wait because we are sure of our army, and can place ever new armies in the field if necessary. The French, on the other hand, have already called up their last man, and are no longer sure of their army or of the unity of their people.

It would be difficult indeed to put more, or greater, lies into as many words. But it is quite typical of what is reported in regard to each phase and sphere of the war. Mark the following, from Mr. Charles Tower, late correspondent in Berlin for the *Daily News*:—

I have had the opportunity lately of reading a number of letters from private persons in Germany, which show that the general public there swallows still the official 'dope' presented to it. Even people under ordinary circumstances well informed appear to have hypnotized themselves into the idea that Germany is striding towards victory. By the courtesy of Mr. T. Fisher Unwin I am enabled to translate to-day some passages from a letter written on December 12 by a well-known German publisher, a man of wide knowledge and high education, and in a position

to have at least as clear a view of the actual situation as any one outside the inner circle of the Government. This is what he writes :—

‘ The losses in this war are unfortunately exceptionally severe on both sides. We comfort ourselves with the certainty that at any rate the sacrifice has not been in vain. We are in possession of practically the whole of Belgium as well as of a big section of France, and the most important industrially, as also of considerable portions of Poland. And even if our ally Austria has lost her province of Galicia, she has made the conquest of a good compensation in Serbia. I can believe that in France, Belgium, and England, the fact that they have suffered gigantic losses without having achieved any success, must in time have the effect of utter dejection. . . . What think you of your ally, the Russians? According to programme they should have been in Berlin in August. After the battle of Tannenberg thousands of medals were found which the Russians had minted to celebrate their entry into Berlin.’ (The writer has, of course, not heard of the German surcharged ‘ Imperial German Province of Switzerland.’) ‘ Well, the famous steam roller is a fiasco.’

Those who study newspapers in this country know, without any further details here, what kind of a ‘ fiasco ’ the Russian campaign has been, and is becoming ; as also does Marshal von Hindenburg. One specimen must serve for many, as to how the despised Russians are also dealing with the renegade Turks, whom Germany has at last succeeded in inveigling into the conflict. This is the way in which the German people are kept supplied with ‘ news.’ On January 5 a *communiqué* from the army in the Caucasus says :—

The defeat which we inflicted upon the Turkish Army at Sarykamyisch is complete. The 9th Turkish Army Corps was annihilated, and we captured the Commander of

the Corps, Iskhan Pasha, the Commanders of the 17th, 28th, and 29th Divisions, two of their lieutenants, with all their Staffs, over 100 officers, and a large number of men.

The losses of the Turks in killed and wounded are enormous.

We took many guns, machine-guns, large quantities of ammunition, and many supply columns.

Lest this should seem too official, add the report in *The Times* :—

Messages from the Caucasus confirm the thorough character of the defeat inflicted by the Russians on the Turkish forces. The First Army Corps, defeated at Ardahan, was reported yesterday to be attempting to rally near the Chorok river, but to be almost completely surrounded. Its retreat appears to be cut off by roads deep in snow. The battle continued for forty-eight hours with great desperation, after which the Turks, finding the situation hopeless, surrendered in masses.

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Russian Foreign Office, in announcing the defeat of the Turks in Trans-Caucasia, has telegraphed to the Russian Embassy in London :—

' The victory is complete.'

How, then, does this appear when properly cooked for Berlin consumption? Thus, from German war news dated January 6 :—

In military circles in Berlin the situation of the Turkish Army in the Caucasus is considered to be exceedingly favourable. The increasing number of Caucasian Moham-medans joining the German Army will assist in bringing about Turkish successes.

What the Turks—themselves past masters in all the arts of deception—will say and do, when the whole truth is brought home to them, we wait to see.

At present they only know what Wolff's Wireless Agency in Berlin chooses to tell them. Its telegrams have already been so outrageously and palpably untrue that they are scorned of the people. One who knows from actual residence, has recently written in the daily press :—

It is amusing to hear the comments which even the Turkish ladies pass upon these telegrams. Coming out of church on the last Sunday that I was in Constantinople I heard one lady asking another what was the news. She was told that the telegrams said 'So-and-so.' 'But I don't want to hear German lies,' was her reply. 'I want news!' It is no exaggeration to say that the 'news' furnished is discredited by all sections of the Turkish population.

So that we are not at all surprised when from the Paris Exchange we receive the following. Its verisimilitude commends itself to our credence :—

The *Matin* learns that a lot of German men and women who have been released from the civilian concentration camps in France, were forbidden to re-enter their own country. The Kommandature objects to them on the ground that having been in France they have read the papers, and know only too well what has been happening.

Recently a group of these Germans were, on their arrival at the frontier, sent to the German concentration camps until the end of the war.

It goes without saying that our British Navy will come in for its share of false reports. They are too many to be here recounted. The German people are, however, informed that the wise, comfortable, and prolonged hiding of their own fleet at Kiel and behind Heligoland, means 'the German control of the

North Sea.' Marshal von der Goltz also has been good enough to inform an interviewer at Sofia that 'the British Fleet was not so dangerous as the Germans believed.' 'At present,' said the doughty General, 'it has reasons for avoiding an encounter with our fleet.' It is a pity he did not complete the picture, by affirming that the tender-hearted philanthropy of the latter was the real reason why it did not wholly exterminate the British Fleet.

Meanwhile, not only do we read of 'national gloom over the loss of Admiral Count von Spee's cruiser squadron, off the Falkland Isles,' but the three 'leading' German organs—the semi-official *Cologne Gazette*, the Government-controlled *Lokalanzeiger*, and the financial *Frankfurter Zeitung*—combine to lie co-operatively, by informing their readers that it was no wonder the German ships were lost, seeing that Admiral Sturdee had thirty-eight (!) warships against his opponent's five. And without doubt German patriotism has consoled itself with this outrageously lying assurance.

It is all very saddening, depressing, revolting. But we cannot yet dismiss it. The greater part, by far, of this modern tragedy of lies has still to be faced, though it shall be done as succinctly and dispassionately as is compatible with duty, in view of the fearful crisis which is not only upon us but at present threatens to grow even more acute.

(3) These means and methods of lying have appealed not merely to the military section of Germany, nor only to the nation, but to the whole world. Enough of this false appeal must now be noted to yield genuine justification of the attitude

of the Allies in general, and of this country in particular, as against those who are both fighting desperately and lying desperately on behalf of their self-confident cause. In default of the large volume which would be required to do justice to such immorality in detail, a few specimens shall now pass before us for brief estimate in four main directions. (i.) The general condition of affairs and summary of events. (ii.) The controversy as to the real origin of the war. (iii.) The truth concerning Belgian neutrality. (iv.) Last, but not least, the reality and devilry of the Belgian 'atrocities.'

(i.) The general situation.

For many and manifest reasons it has been the special effort of Germany to capture the public opinion of America. No pains and no cost have been spared to accomplish this end. The Bernstorff-Dernburg-Münsterberg campaign has been prosecuted to the uttermost, assisted by an innumerable host of Germans and pro-Germans throughout that country. *The Times* of September 26 gave a full account of this desperate venture and of its utter failure. Four-fifths of the people in the United States desire earnestly the speedy and complete victory of the Allies. For twelve years at least the Kaiser has diligently cultivated American soil with a view to German growths. When the war began he realized the need for 'forcing' the feeble sprouts which had rewarded pains. So Count Bernstorff, the Imperial Ambassador at Washington, was recalled from his Bavarian summer holiday, and rushed off to the States, along with a staff of 'expert opinion moulders,' headed by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, ex-Colonial Secretary of Germany.

Another leading light to scatter the American darkness was Captain Boy-Ed, of the German Imperial Navy. No man, save Von Tirpitz or the Kaiser himself, has done more to popularize the notion of German sea-power and achieve it, than Boy-Ed. Another influential helper was Count von Sierstorpf, a Prussian nobleman well known in New York. From Harvard University—which has been turned into a hotbed of pro-German agitation—came the fervid protagonist of all things German, known as Professor Hugo Münsterberg, the special friend of Mr. James Speyer, of the great banking-house of Speyer, who endowed the Amerika Institut in Berlin. This Professor Münsterberg, who is as pronouncedly anti-Christian as anti-English, was for some time occupant of the ‘Harvard Exchange Professorship’ which the Kaiser himself had originated in his pro-German endeavours. He impressed the imagination of American editors to an incredible extent. Newspaper and magazine columns have been freely at his disposal. For some time, indeed, the American newspapers were drenched with communications from the Washington German Embassy.

Not a morning or evening journal of consequence went to press without some fresh effusion from Bernstorff. Now it was an official denial of the latest act of German brutality. Then there would be some new braggart prognostication of Germany’s absolute invincibility. To vary the monotony of Bernstorff’s pronouncements, Captain Boy-Ed was impressed into the service, and began feeding the press with interviews and statements. Then Dr. Dernburg was ‘put on the job.’ His début consisted of a long carefully prepared brief, arguing the German case with the finesse of a shrewd counsel for the defence. By

news syndicate methods, widely developed in the United States, Dr. Dernburg's statement received publicity in the leading journals of the country, reaching all the way from New York to the Golden Gate.

Another distinguished worker in the same campaign was, and is, Dr. J. W. Burgess, Dean of Columbia University, who first occupied the Theodore Roosevelt chair at Berlin. His inaugural address became famous—especially amongst Americans—from the flamboyant way in which he then consigned the Monroe doctrine—that most jealously guarded treasure of the U.S.A.—to the scrap heap. No wonder that the Kaiser at its close loudly called for cheers for America.¹

In addition to the foregoing list, we must by no means forget the latest effort, as noticed above, in the shape of *The Fatherland* weekly journal, edited by Messrs. G. S. Viereck and F. F. Schrader. To this Dean Burgess is a regular contributor, which speaks plainly enough as to the nature of its contents and influence.

But others are on the same list. The wireless agency in Berlin, we have just been publicly informed, has been handed over to Mr. J. F. Archibald, special correspondent of the *New York World*. The following comes from his first message :—

America will be astounded when the real truth regarding British affairs becomes known. Americans are being

¹ His whole plea for pro-Germanism, as sent to the Editor of *The Republican*, will be found in the Oxford Pamphlet, entitled *Great Britain and Germany*, together with a sufficient reply to it, by Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, Oxford University Press, price twopence.

imprisoned although carrying passports, and neutral ships are being captured, avowedly to break up American trade with Holland.

Recruits for Lord Kitchener's army are enrolling very slowly. English people are already expressing fears regarding the final settlement with Russia, and they say that is the reason why Lord Kitchener wants to get a big army.

He proceeds to inform the American public that in Holland it is universally believed that Britain is forcing war on that country, in order to seize its colonies; that 1,400,000 volunteers who offered in Germany to enlist have not been accepted because not needed; that conditions in Germany are absolutely normal; that the country and the cities show no effect of the war; that factories, theatres, in fact everything, is in full swing as usual. The rest of this lying report may be imagined without any difficulty.

How comes it to pass, then, that after all this sapping and mining, this sniping and entrenchment, this bombarding and frontal attacking, the American people not only remain sympathetic with the Allies, but are becoming more and more anti-German and definitely pro-British than ever? Not even the contraband difficulty, engineered as that also was, we know well, by pro-German agents no less than by 'the almighty dollar,' has moved the United States from their aversion to German assumptions, their scorn of German political ideals, and their detestation of German methods of war. The plain truth is that, as we have good reason to know, our American cousins are no fools, and for that simple but sufficient reason they are not caught, and will not be caught, by German

lies. They know them to be lies, whether gilded with golden promises, or decked with philosophy's evergreens, or sprinkled with the Kaiser's blatant pietisms. They are false. That is enough for America; and in the end, that will suffice for the world.

Before we look distinctly in other directions in which false reports have been 'made in Germany,' it may be interesting and profitable to note just a few tit-bits, taken as they have appeared, from reliable sources, without any attempt at classification.

Said the German Foreign Secretary to the German Ambassador in London:—

Germany will not under any pretence whatever annex Belgian territory.

And the learned Theologians add, 'Germany never has done such a thing.' Meanwhile the Central News informs us, and it is abundantly corroborated:—

In all the various places which they have occupied in Belgium, the Germans have posted up placards, whereon it is stated that the Germans consider Belgium as a German province.

And what they do to any one who denies it, we shall see in a moment, in their treatment of Cardinal Mercier.

Readers of Dr. Emil Reich's admirable summary entitled *Germany's Swelled Head*, will remember his account of the performance of Mr. Houston

Stewart Chamberlain (auf Deutsch, it reads 'Hochstein Stehwart Schamberlein') :—

The book in which he advances his startling propositions—in a word, Pan-Germanism—is entitled *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, and it has had a most marvellous success with the Germans. Although heavy, both in bulk and price, it sold in many, many thousands of copies, and is by the majority of the Germans considered to be a higher revelation of truth unfathomable. Rich men have bought up thousands of copies of this grotesque and absurd work, distributing them free of charge to hundreds of public libraries. The Kaiser publicly and warmly approved of it. It has given rise to quite a literature on, for, or against it, and Chamberlain is now one of the most popular and influential writers in Germany.¹

This popular writer, then, has thus delivered himself concerning England :—

Although in Germany I have never met a solitary person of any rank or station who hankered for war, I found vastly different conditions when I was last in England in 1907 and 1908. Everywhere there was a literally terrifying blind hatred of Germany, and impatient longing for a war to destroy her.

Those of us who have lived in England both before and after the years here named, know well that no falser statement than this could be printed.

We know something of the long-established, thorough-going, ubiquitous system of German spy arrangements. In the light of that knowledge the following is interesting :—

Lieutenant-General Imhoff delivered a lecture last week in Berlin in which he declared that, while everything

¹ Reich, p. 11.

else in German military preparations was admirable, there was a single weak point—that Germany lacked the funds for espionage of the kind and on the scale practised by France, England, and Russia. He demanded that every Parliamentary candidate should be required to swear that he would vote the necessary supplies for such purposes.

Going back to the beginning of the war, *The Times* gives us also this instructive instance of the way in which German war methods, which—according to the Kaiser—‘God magnificently supports,’ employ lying as an ordinary weapon:—

Among the inventions carefully circulated at Brussels in August was the assertion contained in a German pamphlet that General de Selliers de Moranville, Chief of the General Staff of the Belgian Field Army, had been guilty of treason, and had been shot. The German object was to discourage the Belgians, and the slander spread farther and farther afield, being circulated especially in the Belgian coast towns. Official Belgian announcements did not serve to kill the lie. As a matter of fact, General de Selliers de Moranville was given charge of the new forces raised in Belgium, and entrusted with their organization and instruction. He is at present carrying out these duties.

Again: amongst other falsities behind which the German Huns have sought to hide their shame in regard to the havoc wrought at Rheims, was the statement made by Lieutenant Wengler, that he it was who saved the Cathedral there from utter destruction. On September 18, this worthy declared, he fired two shells, and no more, at the edifice. But unfortunately Mr. R. H. Davis was there, and gives this as his personal testimony:—

By three o'clock howitzer shells had passed through the southern wall of the Cathedral, killing two of the German

wounded inside ; had wrecked the Grand Hotel opposite the Cathedral, knocked down four houses immediately facing it, and in a dozen places torn up immense holes in the Cathedral Square. Twenty-four hours after Wengler claims he had ceased firing, shells set fire to the roof and utterly wrecked the chapel of the Cathedral and the Archbishop's palace.

So that not only had the two shells, ' and two only,' wrecked all the city within a quarter of a mile radius around the Cathedral, but whereas the German Lieutenant affirmed that no shot was fired after September 18, Mr. Davis personally testifies that it was being shelled on September 22.

By way of enheartening the now largely disheartened German soldiery, Berlin wireless agency, published on January 7, issues the following veracious morsel :—

The number of wounded soldiers in France is enormous, and it is even stated that in the towns and villages the wounded represent 35 per cent. of the male population. When the hope is expressed that the Allies will soon be in Berlin, the answer generally received is, ' Oh, no ; we shall be quite satisfied when the Germans are out of France.'

These delightful specimens could be multiplied with tragic ease. But the *pièce de resistance*, perhaps, may after all be found here :—

The Sultan, opening the Turkish Parliament, said :—

' We were just in the best way to give reforms in the interior a fresh impetus when, suddenly, the great crisis broke out.

' While our Government was firmly resolved to observe the strictest neutrality, our fleet was attacked in the Black Sea by the Russian Fleet.

'England and France then began actual hostilities by sending troops to our frontiers.

'Therefore I declared a state of war.'

Comment would spoil this unequivocal proof of the fitness of the Turks to be the Allies of Germany in lying. Unless it be the well-merited estimate conveyed in *Punch's* sketch of the Kaiser talking to the Sultan :—

Kaiser : 'I say, how are you going to explain away the surrender of your army corps in the Caucasus?'

Sultan : 'Nothing simpler. I just say that our gallant troops determined to embarrass the enemy's commissariat, and carried out their object with overwhelming success.'

Kaiser : 'Splendid! I could not have put it better myself.'

Sultan : 'My dear boy, we were in the business ages and ages before you were thought of.'

It is all on a level with the information which had evidently been supplied to the Saxon soldier who asked Captain J. R. Somers Smith—'How many Germans did it take to capture London?' He did actually believe that it was taken, and that he and his comrades were only twenty miles from Paris.

In regard, however, to the attempts of Germany to impress the world with what Professor Eucken calls 'the righteousness of their cause,' numberless other instances are to hand of the utter unscrupulousness of their assertions. To expose these, even in part, is a repulsive task. But so is the amputation of a limb. Yet no true surgeon would hesitate if life may thereby be saved. It is no less necessary at this crisis to maintain the truth as against the opposite. So we proceed.

Mention was made above of *The Fatherland* as a recent American pro-German weekly. Here is one of its latest performances. Under the heading 'How England Manufactures Atrocity Stories,' it publishes the following:—

In London recently a young Englishwoman, Kate Hume, was sentenced to three months in the workhouse (*sic*) for forgery in falsifying reports of German atrocities some time early in September. Inspired by hysterical hatred, she supplied the London *Times* with two letters alleged to have been written by Belgian priests, in which it was stated that her sister Grace, serving as a hospital nurse in France, had suffered horrible mutilation by the amputation of both breasts by German soldiers. *The Times* published this tale of horror, and it was promptly cabled to the New York papers. No denial was ever made until Grace Hume, the reputed victim, turned up unharmed at her home in one of the suburbs of London, and the priest's letters were found to be forgeries.

Now what are the facts? These—to quote the paper mentioned—'Not only were the forged letters never published in *The Times*, but immediately after their appearance *The Times*, in a leading article of September 18, called for a searching investigation, which was actually undertaken, with the results that are now well known.' So much for the veracity of *The Fatherland*. Is it any wonder that America declines to approve German methods?

No charge has been more emphasized against our soldiers, or sensationally reiterated, than that they have employed the notorious dum-dum bullets, which are known to have so destructive an effect on the surrounding tissues of wounds as

to have been forbidden by the Hague Convention. Two specimens of such accusation will stand for many more. The ninety odd savants claiming to represent the best intellectual life and learning of Germany, ponderously declare in their 'appeal':—

In the West, dum-dum bullets tear open the breasts of our warriors.

Whilst the following occurs in the original text of the Kaiser's own message to President Wilson :—

I consider it my duty to inform you as the most eminent representative of the principles of humanity that, after the capture of the French fortress Longwy, my troops discovered thousands of dum-dum bullets. . . . Such bullets were found also among the British troops.

But the same pious monarch did not consider it his duty to face the evidence given to the contrary, which conclusively proved his statement to be false. First, in America, Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, ordered a legal inquiry into the charge, which showed it to be false; and this conclusion was emphasized by the vehement denials of the very manufacturers who were alleged to have supplied the bullets.

But more than that. The whole matter was gone into carefully by our own War Office, and the scrutiny resulted not only in an absolute denial of the charge, but in unequivocal proof that the Germans themselves are doing the very thing which they falsely attribute to us. The ordinary nickel-sheathed bullet is said to be 'probably the most humane projectile yet devised,' and

was, as such, approved by the Hague Convention. But the War Office Memorandum goes on to say :—

There is, however, clear evidence that Germany has not confined herself solely to the use of this unobjectionable ammunition. Her troops, both in Togoland and in France, have been proved to have used bullets with a soft core and hard thin envelope, not entirely covering the core, which type of bullet is expanding, and therefore expressly prohibited by the Hague Convention. Such bullets of no less than three types were found on the bodies of dead native soldiers serving with the German armed forces against British troops in Togoland in August, and on the persons of German European and native armed troops captured by us in that colony. All the British wounded treated in the British hospitals during the operations in Togoland were wounded by soft-nosed bullets of large calibre, and the injuries which these projectiles inflicted, in marked contrast to those treated by the British Medical Staff amongst the German wounded, were extremely severe, bones being shattered, and the tissue so extensively damaged that amputation had to be performed.

Again, at Gundelu, in France, on September 19, 1914, soft-nosed bullets (i.e. those in which the lead core is exposed, and protrudes at the nose) were found on the dead bodies of German soldiers of the Landwehr, and on the persons of soldiers of the Landwehr made prisoners of war by the British troops. One of these bullets has reached the War Office. It is undoubtedly expanding, and directly prohibited by the Hague Convention.¹

¹ With regard to the allegations against us, specific reference has been made in the German semi-official organ, the *Lokalanzeiger*, to certain flat-nosed revolver ammunition found in the possession of the British officers made prisoners of war by the Germans. The memorandum is accompanied by two reports by Sir Victor Horsley, declaring that both the nickel-sheathed bullet and the flat-nosed revolver bullet are in full accord with the provisions of the Hague Convention, and by a report showing that after penetrating several deal boards the Webley pistol bullets were recovered practically undamaged.

In spite, however, of this unanswerable contradiction, it is more than probable that the German Professors and Pastors will go on repeating this libel, and the people will continue to believe them.

No more significant instance of the German campaign of lies could be afforded, than the comments of their press upon that bombardment of Hartlepool, Scarborough, and Whitby, which we are not likely to forget. The details of the ghastly murder of more than a hundred civilian men, women, and children, are all too familiar. We have now to note what was said about this cowardly business to the German nation, and how it is related to facts. This is the way in which it was announced. The wireless agency reported :—

Parts of our high-seas battle forces have made a dash to the English East Coast, and early on December 16 shelled the two fortified coast towns of Scarborough and Hartlepool. Further details of this undertaking cannot be given for the present.

VON POHL,
Chief of the Admiralty Staff.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* said :—

Once more our naval forces, braving the danger of scattered mines in the North Sea, have shelled English fortified places.

In the same journal Captain Persius, who as a naval officer was some time ago ‘allowed special facilities for visiting places of naval interest in England,’ announced that

Scarborough is the most important harbour on the East Coast of England between the Thames and the Humber, and is protected by powerful batteries.

This is lie number one, as the following deliverance of Admiral von Tirpitz's department half acknowledges :—

If the English did not fire all their guns, or if all the guns were not manned by gunners—perhaps because these guns were partly of an obsolete type, or for reasons of economy had not been kept ready for war—this state of things would not justify the charge that the enemy had bombarded unfortified places, any more than would the fact, which has reached us from a trustworthy neutral source, that the defenders ran away from their guns when the German ships opened their well-aimed fire.

There is no fort at either Scarborough or Whitby—all mention of the latter place is conveniently omitted—whilst at Hartlepool there are only some land batteries. They were not qualified to deal with the first-class German battleships—but it is lie number two to say that the defenders 'ran away.'

Lie number three is illustrated in the Berlin *Neueste Nachrichten*, which said :—

This time it is not merely a daring cruiser raid or the mere throwing of a bomb, but a regular bombardment of fortified places. It is a further proof of the gallantry of our navy.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* improved it by a head-line—'Shelling of Fortified English Coast Towns.' The places were not fortified; and the 'gallantry' consisted in three things :—(1) Flying the British flag; (2) firing first out to sea to convey the idea that they were British ships firing at an enemy; and (3) bombarding a feeble land battery like Hartlepool, which their spies had given them to understand

had no guns that could reach them, or reply to their most powerful weapons. It was indeed very gallant.

Here are lies number four and five, from the *Neue Freie Presse* :—

Germany has taken a bloody revenge for the sad fate of Von Spee's squadron, and has succeeded in causing the deepest consternation all over England and inflicting the severest calamity that British sea-power has suffered. The German Fleet has performed a memorable feat. In full daylight it steamed towards the English coast, and the insolent foe now knows what comes of threatening the existence of Germany. To the British Fleet it must feel like a blow in the face to know that, under their very eyes, British soil has been bombarded and British harbour works have been smashed.

The 'full daylight' downright lie, number five, is well exposed by Mr. Churchill in summarizing what actually happened :—

Some of the most powerful and swiftest vessels of the German Navy rush through the darkness of the long nights, and appear out of a mist. They surprise placid Scarborough and little Whitby and the busy Hartlepoons. They kill and maim some hundreds of non-combatants, chiefly women and children. They attempt no military purpose.

But the fourth lie was accounted worthy of special emphasis. So the Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* informed its readers that

the impression made by the bombardment was almost indescribable. Not only was there tremendous terror in the bombarded towns, but the people of London were greatly excited, so that the English are trembling more than ever at

the thought of a German invasion, and there is the utmost mistrust of the navy and those who control it.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in biggest type, rejoiced to confirm the 'panic' and 'unparalleled excitement caused in England.' But the lie was much bigger than the type.

Lie number six went to the credit of Count Reventlow, who wrote that—

Regarding the action itself there is naturally nothing more to say at the moment. It was, however, probable from the outset that further fights would follow the shelling of the English coast towns, because it is not to be doubted that English ships hurried up on learning of the bombardment in order to attack the German squadrons (*Verbande*). At any event, it appears that the action assumed a not inconsiderable importance.

Whilst the *Tägliche Rundschau* also described as a 'naval battle' the useless and unjustifiable murder of women and children at our defenceless seaside resorts.

It was lie enough to call such cowardliness 'fights,' 'action,' 'naval battle'—but it needed capping. So the German public were further enheartened by the same journal after this fashion :—

Will the overwhelming effect upon English nerves be diminished by the fact that it is from a German source that the people of London hear the painful news of the destruction of two destroyers and of serious injury done to a third? Already the European echo of the thunder of German guns on the English coast rings unpleasantly in English ears. What will it be like when the world learns the news kept back by the English Admiralty of the complete success of the German blow?

The 'destruction, &c.,' was pure imagination, but Rear Admiral Schlieper wrote to say that

the invisible fruits of the raid will include a great moral effect upon the British naval commanders, with the result that there will be measures taken, or measures neglected, to the future advantage of Germany.

Whilst the *Neues Wiener Journal* announced that—

It is one of the most significant events of the war. The policy of Albion of fighting for others has reached its end, and England must now fight for her own existence. This is the turning-point in the world's war—a turning-point in favour of the central Powers.

These lies, however, not being sufficient, the *Cologne Gazette* came to the rescue with the following echo of a previous one :—

Spectators all the world over will reflect about this, and repeat the question which was asked after the bombardment of Yarmouth :—' Where is the English Navy ? ' The fact that thirty-eight ships belonging to England and her vassal peoples were able recently to destroy a few German cruisers could not increase the prestige of English sea-power. But what our warships have again achieved will surely diminish England's naval prestige.

Two other notes are needed before this tissue of lies is dismissed with the contempt it merits. What about the Hague Convention ? It declares (Section 9, Article 1) that ' the bombardment by naval forces of undefended ports, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings, is forbidden.' Against this the *Frankfurter Zeitung* avowed that all the world knew that Scarborough and Hartlepool were ' fortified places.' Being well aware, from the German

spy system, that this was false, the *Cologne Gazette* endeavoured to shuffle out by repeating, on three following days, that the Hague Convention did not apply to bombardments because Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey, were not parties to it. That being too contemptible for its purpose, it was then further urged that Great Britain had broken so many rules that she had no further right to appeal to them. Which speaks for itself, as simply shameless lying. As a matter of fact, all the first six articles of that Convention, which Germany herself signed and endorsed, were broken by the raid in question. And whereas Baron Marshall had said, with all possible emphasis,

The officers of the German Navy will always fulfil in the strictest fashion the duties which emanate from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization,

and Bernhardi himself had declared that

prohibition against shelling unfortified towns appears superfluous, as modern war scarcely knows a case in which such shelling has taken place,

that which actually took place is summed up truthfully as to the facts, and rightly as to the sentiments, by our own journal, *Public Opinion*, in its conclusion :—

German vice pays some tribute to virtue by cloaking their acts with a lie. They speak of these harmless seaside places as ‘fortified,’ knowing that they agreed by the Hague Convention not to bombard unfortified places. There is no fort at Scarborough or at Whitby. At Hartlepool there are certain land batteries. But the German

spies know quite well that for the most part the East Coast is not fortified. To send the biggest battleships to shell undefended villages and towns is rank piracy and cold-blooded murder.

There is only one other feature to be added, but it is noteworthy. It has come to light that 'this question of bombarding open towns, has been a matter not only of discussion but of disagreement, in the German Navy.' It appears that the non-Prussian officers have objected; but their views have been overruled by the Admiralty—'after consultation with the Kaiser.' No doubt—as he said to Herr Stotte,

Whenever I have to make any decision, I ask myself what the Bible would teach me to do in that particular case—

he had learned from his Bible-reading to violate the most solemn engagements, and sanction the murder of defenceless women and children. But it would be well if he could be compelled to inform the world which portions of the Bible led him to this particular 'decision.'

We have carefully considered the East Coast raid, as being specially interesting for this country. But on the Continent numberless other instances of the same moral obliquity might be only too truthfully cited. A few of them may be at least mentioned, leaving for other occasions the detailed proofs which can in each case be abundantly supplied when necessary.

All the world has now heard of Cardinal Mercier, the brave Archbishop of Belgium, and his treatment

at German hands. What had he done? He addressed a pastoral to his clergy and people; as, surely, he had both right and duty to do. What did he say? In substance this—employing the Cardinal's own language¹:—

Better than any other man, perhaps, do I know what our unhappy country has undergone. Churches, schools, asylums, hospitals, convents in great numbers, are in ruins. Entire villages have all but disappeared. At Louvain the third part of the buildings are down; one thousand and seventy-four dwellings have disappeared; on the town land and in the suburbs one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three houses have been burnt. Many a parish lost its pastor. Thousands of the Belgian citizens have in like manner been deported to the prisons of Germany, to Munsterlagen, to Celle, to Magdeburg. History will tell of the physical and moral torments of their long martyrdom. Hundreds of innocent men were shot. In the Louvain group of communes one hundred and seventy-six persons—men and women, old men and sucklings, rich and poor, in health and sickness, were shot or burnt. And there where lives were not taken, and there where the stones of buildings were not thrown down, what anguish unrevealed! Families, hitherto living at ease, now in bitter want; all commerce at an end; all careers ruined; industry at a standstill; thousands upon thousands of working men without employment; working women, shop-girls, humble servant-girls, without the means of earning their bread; and poor souls forlorn on the bed of sickness and fever, crying, 'O Lord, how long, how long?' I do not require of you to renounce any of your national desires. On the contrary, I hold it as part of the obligations of my episcopal office to instruct you as to your duty in face of the Power that has invaded our soil and now occupies the greater part of our country. The authority of that Power is no lawful authority. Therefore in soul and conscience

¹ The full text may be obtained from Burns & Oates, at twopence, or 1s.

you owe it neither respect, nor attachment, nor obedience. The sole lawful authority in Belgium is that of our King, of our Government, of the elected representatives of the nation. This authority alone has a right to our affection, our submission.

No doubt this was unpalatable reading to the German bullies. So, to quote *The Times*, this resulted :—

Cardinal Mercier has been arrested and imprisoned in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Malines on account of the patriotic sentiments expressed in the pastoral letter which he had written and ordered to be read in the churches on Sunday.

The Germans made vigorous efforts to suppress the pastoral, and according to the *Telegraaf* they prevented it being read in some of the churches. According to the Roosendaal correspondent of the *Tyd* the police and magistrates instituted a search in all the parishes throughout Belgium with the object of tracing and destroying wherever possible the document. Various priests were arrested, but many of these were liberated after some hours' detention.

What then followed? Naturally and righteously the intense indignation not only of Romanists but of the whole religious world. And then what? The usual German lie. The world was informed that the Cardinal had not been arrested, and that—'The Mercier incident has been arranged in a peaceful way.'

But what says the Dutch paper, the *Tyd*?

Seldom in history has it happened that through a more or less inspired telegraphic agency, as the Wolff Bureau, has so incontrovertible an occurrence as the deprivation of liberty of Cardinal Mercier in his own Palace—and at this moment still in his episcopal city—and the arrest of priests attested by so many witnesses been denied. If the Wolff

Bureau wishes to state that the Cardinal was never taken to jail, which I never reported, and that it would be better, as from a German source it was stated in the *Tyd* the day before yesterday, to say that the Cardinal was merely placed 'under special guard,' I should be relatively contented therewith; but simply to deny the occurrence without qualification is so crass, that I should say it is only possible to the Wolff Bureau, notorious for its untrustworthy half-truths. It is the absolute truth, which Cardinal Mercier himself will shortly confirm, that his Eminence was deprived of liberty for a short time in his own Palace, that the Palace was placed under military guard, that he still, at this moment, remains so far deprived of freedom that he may not leave Malines.

The same paper publishes the Cardinal's protest, dated January 10—sent in Latin to all the priests in his diocese. He flatly denies the German lying shuffle that he had been 'in no way hindered in the exercise of his episcopal duties.' Here are his own words:—

On the evening of January 1 and the next day soldiers forced their entry into the residences of the *curés*, seized my Pastoral Letter, and, contrary to my episcopal order, forbade their reading it to their congregations, threatening them with the severest punishment, which, they said, would be inflicted either on the *curés* themselves or on the parish. My own dignity was not spared. On January 2, at six o'clock in the morning, I received an order to appear the same morning before the Governor-General to answer for my letter to the priests and their parishioners. The next day I was forbidden to attend service in the Cathedral at Antwerp. Finally, I was not allowed to travel freely in order to visit the other bishops in Belgium.

So that *The Times'* summary was thoroughly warranted when it said—'Apparently the great revolt occasioned throughout the whole Catholic

world by the report of the arrest of the Cardinal, has caused the Germans to give the lie to the most incontrovertible facts.' It is but another unmistakable intimation of what this military brutality would do everywhere, if it could.

In Cardinal Mercier's case doubtless they had long 'owed him one.' And as it throws additional light on Germany's methods, the explanation of this may be given in the succinct words of M. Auguste Melot, Belgian Member for Namur, in the *Westminster Gazette*. The question was, Why had not the Pope protested against Germany's iniquities in Belgium? M. Melot thus replies:—

I was received by the Pontiff on November 10, and believe I was the first to make known to him the exact number of priests assassinated (56) by the Germans in the diocese of Namur alone. This ignorance is thus explained. The German Government had been preparing for war for a long time. Knowing that the Vatican could exercise considerable influence over Catholic countries, she had placed at the Holy See three official agents—viz. the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, the Bavarian Minister, and the Prussian Minister, to whom were attached numerous other agents. On the violation of Belgian neutrality the Germans gave out that they were at first in agreement with Belgium, and that Belgium was merely simulating resistance before withdrawing her army to Antwerp.

Events having openly given the lie to these statements, the Germans spread a rumour that as early as July 31, before the declaration of war, French soldiers had entered Belgium and had assisted in the defence of Liège. Then came the ridiculous story of the alleged Anglo-Belgian Treaty. As to the atrocities, they were attributed to the crimes of the Belgian people.

To all these efforts on the part of the Germans the Allies made no reply, having no official representatives at the Vatican.

Cardinal Mercier alone, at the time of the Papal Conclave, was able to bring some truths to light. At length, however, facts were revealed.

These instances might well suffice ; but the supply of them is inexhaustible. The latest to hand at the moment, is another of the usual performances of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. A few days ago a fleet of a dozen German aircraft appeared as if making for London, but they had to return without ever reaching the English coast. Hereupon the veracious journal just mentioned says—under the heading ‘German Air Squadron over the English Coast : Sixteen Aeroplanes bombard Dover’ :—

A German air squadron has visited the English coast. The flight across the Channel was not a chance success of a specially able airman, but a systematic attack carried out in due order by a squadron of some sixteen aeroplanes. If the ultimate purpose—the objective was no doubt the English capital—has not been attained, this was due, not to the unusually elaborate measures of defence which have been taken on the English coast, but solely to the thick fog, which made the operations difficult. Nevertheless Dover has been bombarded, and the terror which will have resulted from the undertaking is easy to understand.

The size of this lie may be left for comparison with the rest. One cannot wonder that in regard to the vast Russian operations in the East, which we cannot here describe, one of our leading dailies should remark :—

It is beginning to be recognized that the German Press, which is in the iron grip of the censor, is giving an entirely false picture of what is really taking place in the world. The report of a great Russian victory over the Turks, which

was known in Holland on Tuesday evening, had not been published in the German papers on Wednesday noon. The German papers up to and inclusive of those of January 10 appear to have published nothing concerning the great Russian victory at Sarykamysh.

But before we close this pitiful story, distinct reference must yet be made, for the truth's sake, to the three crucial matters upon which, above all else, Germany has sought, by all kinds of falsities, to justify herself, and denounce all others, but this country most of all. These are, the real origin of the war, the facts in regard to Belgian neutrality, and the abominable atrocities in that country. It will not be necessary to go into detail, because fullest information has already been given to the public in reliable papers, both governmental and journalistic. So, then, let us summarize.

First, in regard to the origin of the war. What we have to face may be best expressed in the words of another philosopher, not as yet quoted. Says Dr. Carus, of *The Open Court* fame :—

Woe unto those villanous advisers who have begun the war. They think themselves wise, but they are shortsighted. They appeal to the lowest and vilest motives of their countrymen, and hope to enrich their country by the ruin of their brothers. Woe unto them ! The curse of their own people will most surely fall upon them.

The men of England who have advocated the war, and have stirred the English people with hatred, are guilty of the blackest crime ; they have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, that sin which can never be forgiven.

But in calling our witnesses it may be well to begin at the top. Here is the account given by M.

Hinzelin—in the *France de Demain*—of the interview with the Kaiser himself which fell to the lot of a French nurse who was taken prisoner, with her ambulance, near Sedan :—

‘ Why did France insist on making war on us ? ’ he first asked, following up this question before it could be answered, by a second : ‘ Don’t you know that France was the first to mobilize ? ’

The nurse murmured something about the invasion of Belgium. The Kaiser caught at Belgium. ‘ They are always reproaching us with that,’ he said. ‘ Just listen to me. At Brussels we found absolute proof that a treaty existed between Belgium, France, and England, enabling the French and English to attack Germany through Belgium.

‘ I’ll tell you what I think of your fine England,’ he said, with growing fury. ‘ She is treachery incarnate. She has betrayed everybody, and me first of all. If I wished, she would betray France to-morrow.’

Such double and treble lying sufficiently exposes itself.

But passing from father to son, this is how the Prussian lamb bleats its innocence to the Berlin correspondent of the United Press of America :—

This is a stupid, senseless, unnecessary war—a war not wanted by Germany, but forced upon us ; a war which it was our highest duty to anticipate by all proper preparation, in order to defend the Fatherland against the ring which our enemies had long been welding to crush us. And the fact that we were so effectually prepared for defence—which is now used as an argument to convince the world that we wanted this war—is being cited as proof that we were responsible for it !

Now what does Mr. Ian Malcolm tell us publicly ?

I have been in the diplomatic service in Berlin, and in January this year I was there when the Emperor’s birthday

was being celebrated. I had more than one conversation with the Crown Prince.

On one occasion he said, 'You English and we ought to be friends and divide Europe between us.' I said, 'Really!' He said, 'Yes, and we can do it if you will just shut your eyes and let us take the French colonies.'

I said, 'Sir, you hit me hard. I hardly know what to say, but I will say this first of all: I think you had better try to make a success of the colonies you have got—and I know most of them—before you take other people's. You must remember that such a proceeding as you suggest would mean war, and nobody wants war.'

Gripping my arm the Crown Prince said, 'I beg your pardon. I want war. I want to smack those French swine.'

Surely, then, Mr. Malcolm is well justified in saying—'It is no use telling me, after that, that the Germans did not want war. The Crown Prince, I believe, and not the Emperor, is the man who has made this war.'

Most of us are aware that the German Chancellor, in his famous indictment, has added the assertion that England could have prevented the war, if our Cabinet had only 'declared without ambiguity, at Petrograd, that Great Britain would not allow a Continental war to develop from the Austro-Serbian conflict.' The falsity of this is only equalled by its impudent absurdity. But Herr von Bethmann Hollweg's lie is enhanced by his further declaration in public that—

The Cabinet in London allowed this monstrous world-wide war to come about hoping, with the help of the Entente, to destroy the vitality of England's greatest European competitor on the markets of the world.

That would be hard to beat for falsity. But Signor Giolotti—the most influential and respected figure

in Italian public life '—has shown the world something quite as significant. Even this ; that instead of Austria's amazing and war-intending ultimatum to Serbia being caused by the assassination at Serajevo in June last, it had been resolved upon nearly two years before, and both Germany and Italy made cognizant of it. All the world besides America knows how to estimate such chicanery as the former has shown, by the side of Italy's fidelity.

Let us turn again for a moment to the critical stages of discussion immediately preceding the beginning of war. What do we find in the French Yellow Book, definitely attested by M. Viviani, Minister for Foreign Affairs? On August 1, pp. 124-133 :—

In St. Petersburg the Austrian Ambassador called on M. Sazonoff and communicated to him the consent of his Government to enter upon a discussion as to the basis of the ultimatum addressed to Serbia. The Russian Minister declared himself satisfied with this declaration. . . . Unfortunately these dispositions, which might justify hope in a pacific solution, appear in fact bound to be annulled by Germany's attitude. . . . This Power has, indeed, delivered an ultimatum, giving the Russian Government twelve hours in which to agree to demobilization not only on the German frontier, but also on the Austrian frontier. . . . This ultimatum is not justified, since Russia has accepted the English proposal, which implies a suspension in the military preparations of all the Powers.

Then, on August 2, writes M. Viviani :—

The Russian Ambassador informs me that Germany has just declared war on Russia, notwithstanding the negotiations which are proceeding, and at a moment when Austria-Hungary was agreeing to discuss with the Powers, even the basis of her conflict with Servia.

After that, can any honest mind deny that the summary of the *Morning Post* is amply justified?

Into what a horrible gulf of perfidy and violence do these simple sentences give us a glimpse! Germany, pretending to be the friend of peace, interposing her gentle counsels on behalf of a settlement, sees a real chance of this settlement shine faintly like a glow-worm in the night. And instantly and ruthlessly revealing herself for what she is, she tramples it under foot.

It is all of a piece with the foregoing, that Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, should on one occasion definitely tell M. Jules Cambon that Germany would only mobilize if Russia did so on the German frontier; and then afterwards, when M. Cambon reminded him of this, on July 31, calmly answer, that 'it did not constitute a firm engagement'! That was a worthy echo to the Chancellor's 'scrap of paper.' With equal shame they will both go down to history, in spite of the latter's recent attempts to explain away his tell-tale phrase.

When aristocracy lies shamelessly, democracy naturally tends to follow suit. So we find even the German Socialists sinking their Socialism, which certainly makes for peace, in their pan-Germanism, which cries for war. In discussing the situation with some representative Belgian Socialists, the German fraternity maintained that their land was only defending itself against England, France, and Russia. But up to the very outbreak of war they had said the contrary, viz. that it was their own Government which was defeating the plainly peace-maintaining efforts of London and Paris, and driving Russia to hostility. What did the German

Socialists say to their *confrères* who accused them of falsity? This :—

That is quite right, but when we talked like that we knew it was not true. We did it by way of political tactics in order to press against the Government.

So, then, Germanism prompts even Socialism to lie innocently for political purposes.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier well sums up the case, from the Canadian standpoint, in his letter to Sir Gilbert Parker :—

The public sentiment in the United States is even stronger for the Allies than you in Europe are aware, even more than is attested in the events which you have summarized in your papers. You are familiar with the American papers, but the way that the *Evening Post*, in particular, is handling the sophistry of the German Professors is masterly. How could it be otherwise? It is absolutely absurd, if not absolutely insane, in view of the works of Bernhardi and the speeches of the Kaiser and the tone of the German Professors themselves, for them now to make us believe that they were not the aggressors, when even to-day, in every line which they publish, they assert that they are the strongest race in the world, and that it is for the world's benefit that they should rule it.

Had it not been, however, for the solemn duty of opposing lying, we might have saved ourselves all the trouble of considering preceding instances, by simply listening to Herr Harden, who is said to be the most influential journalist in Germany—mainly because he dared in his *Zukunft* to impeach certain unspeakable conditions in the Kaiser's entourage, and so brought about the downfall of men like Prince Eulenburg, Count Kuno von Moltke, Count Wilhelm von Hohenau, and others. He came off victorious

in the conflict, and has since posed as a champion for righteousness. We will allow him his laurels, in order to learn from him German truth at last. And this is what Herr Harden says to his own countrymen :—

Let us drop our miserable attempts to excuse Germany's action. Let us have done with paltry abuse of the enemy. Not against our will, and as a nation taken by surprise, did we hurl ourselves into this gigantic venture.

We willed it; we had to will it. We do not stand before the judgement-seat of Europe; we acknowledge no such jurisdiction.

Our might shall create a new law in Europe. It is Germany that strikes. When she has conquered new domains for her genius, then the priesthoods of all the gods will praise the good war. We stand at the beginning of a struggle whose development and duration no one can foretell, and in which as yet no combatant has been overwhelmed.

Now Germany's hour has struck, and she must take her place as the leading Power.

Any peace which did not secure her the first position would be no reward for her efforts.

Have we any further need of witnesses? Or is the press comment upon the above, the plain truth?

Herr Harden now shows scarcely less daring, in urging Germany to throw off the hypocritical mask, and confess that she deliberately engineered the war.

A word more requires to be said respecting the neutrality of Belgium. This is the protest of the Belgian Legation, through the medium of our Press Bureau :—

In order to justify the crimes committed in Belgium and to excuse in the eyes of the civilized world a disgraceful

assault on a state of such obviously peaceful type, Germany is now seeking to disseminate in foreign countries tales of the most malicious character aimed against our country.

Germany violated our neutrality with most shameless cynicism. She is now trying to foist into history the absurd allegation that our country had taken sides against her before the war had begun. The whole diplomatic history of Belgium gives the lie to this calumny, but it may be well to set forth the care with which our Government took pains to secure the observation of the strictest neutrality on the eve of the outbreak of war, at the very moment when that neutrality was to be violated by one of the Powers which had formerly guaranteed it.

But the manifesto of the savants—Harnack, Bode, Hauptman, Sudermann, Röntgen, Humperdinck, Liebermann, Liszt, Wundt, and others—is as follows :—

We desire to place before the world of culture a protest against the lies and slime with which our foes are trying to soil Germany's pure soil. It is not true that Germany desired this war. It was not desired by the people, the Government, or the Kaiser.

It was only because of the long-threatened attack from three sides, that at last he raised himself as a man. It is not true that we wickedly disregarded the neutrality of Belgium. France and England had decided to disregard it, and Belgium had agreed. Not to have advanced through Belgium would have been self-destruction.

How—if they knew the facts, and if they did not, then they ought to have said nothing—these Professors can have made so false a statement, we must leave. But if we may use a homely phrase, manifestly their own last sentence 'lets the cat out of the bag.' And this we shall see, in a moment,

overwhelmingly confirmed. But the general impression in Germany is undoubtedly voiced by one who writes from that country, thus :—

Everybody here is convinced that this war has been forced upon them. They produce all sorts of evidence to show that France and England had made definite arrangements with Belgium, and that the French Army had already crossed the Belgian frontier when Germany declared war.

Now for the facts. As far back as April, 1913, Sir E. Grey gave the lie direct to the report then afoot, that Great Britain contemplated a violation of Belgian neutrality. But Herr Gothein—Radical Reichstag Deputy—has recently shown that even at that time the German military authorities ‘informed the secret committee of the Reichstag that Belgium must be reckoned amongst Germany’s enemies.’ When Herr Gothein remonstrated that it would be wrong to violate Belgian neutrality, they replied that Germany ‘would not do so if it was not violated by France and England.’ Why, then—as is unequivocally shown in the official documents—when Britain asked France and Germany for a definite understanding that Belgium’s neutrality would be respected, did France answer at once in the affirmative, and Germany refuse to answer at all? It is equally false that England either had violated that neutrality, or had the least intention of doing so. So again the press comment was justified :—

When Sir Edward Grey promised naval support to France, he had already received from France an engagement to respect Belgian neutrality ; but he had received no such declaration from Germany. On the contrary, Germany had

declared herself 'not in a position to reply.' Not only so, but a promise to protect the coasts of France in a certain eventuality, was not a declaration of war. Indeed, such a situation as a limited attack by sea had been the basis of a German bid for British neutrality.

Therefore, when Germany broke her promise to Belgium, England was still at peace, and, not only so, but Germany 'very early' on that same morning of August 2 had actually broken the neutrality of the Duchy of Luxemburg. Thus even in his quibbles Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg is unsupported by facts.

For once, German diplomacy spoke the truth, when Herr von Bethmann Hollweg openly confessed in the Reichstag, that a definite outrage had been committed, that they had made 'a breach of international law' and had 'done wrong,' under the plea of necessity. Since then, he has tried to shuffle out of it. But the modern world knows how to estimate that process, and *The Times* comment upon it is entirely appropriate :—

It was only when no such proposal was forthcoming, when Luxemburg was invaded to our knowledge, the intention to invade Belgium could no longer be doubted, and the invasion itself had actually begun, that to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg's amazement we chose war before dishonour, and kicked down his 'house of cards.' His speech exposes to all the world the tricks he had in reserve for us had we been weak enough and mean enough to yield to his advances.

Is it any wonder, then, that we find similar chicanery displayed in other German quarters? When Dr. Koster was asked by his Belgian fellow-Socialists whether they had been 'only playing an odious comedy' in voting for the integrity of small states,

and whether they did not value the honour of a nation, his reply was :—

The honour of a nation is a piece of bourgeois ideology with which Socialists have nothing to do. As for international treaties, they cannot hold in time of war.

As to whether, after all, any real excuse may be formulated for Germany's iniquity under the plea of 'necessity,' any honest mind may judge from the two following true incidents. Just before leaving England, a friend expressed to Herr von Kuhlmann, the First Secretary at the German Embassy, surprise that Belgium had been invaded. But the Secretary replied, quite indignantly, that there was nothing to be surprised at, 'inasmuch as the entry of German troops into Belgium in the event of war, had been decided upon by the military authorities ten years ago.'

Again : after the engagement at Saint Die, an issue of the *Deutsche Kriegerzeitung* was found in the abandoned position, and in this paper an article by Brigadier-General Spenn. Here is its literal translation :—

The plan for the invasion of France had been for some time solidly established (*von vornherein festgelegt*). This plan was successfully to pursue our invasion into the North of France through Belgium (*durch Belgien im Norden erfolgen*), and in this way to avoid the line of strong positions which protected their (the French) frontier on the German side, which would have been extremely difficult to reduce. This plan has succeeded in every detail, as the positions of the contending armies now demonstrate.

It was part of the American propaganda that Dr. Dernburg should endeavour, in the *New York*

American, to make Britain guilty of a breach of neutrality in regard to Belgium. But in spite of all the baseless sub-headings and manipulated documents, with specious misrepresentations, the answer of the New York correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* is true and sufficient :—

Documents indisputably prove that Britain's intervention was not intended, except in defence of Belgium against Germany, in case of the violation of her neutrality and the invasion of her territory.

The opening paragraph contains the words, 'In case Belgium should be attacked.' Another sentence makes even more certain that 'the entry of the British into Belgium would only take place after the violation of our neutrality by Germany.'

The whole rehash, with unscrupulous black type emphasis, has only revealed the German spokesmen bankrupt of argument, straining the truth to persuade Americans that their condemnation of Germany for international robbery with violence is undeserved.

For a clear and succinct account of the reasons why Americans who are not Germans remain unmoved by such sophistries, nothing better can possibly be found than two reprints by *The Times*. (1) The findings of Mr. James M. Beck—formerly Assistant Attorney-General of the United States and a leader of the New York Bar. (2) The Reply to the German Professors, as mentioned above, by Samuel Harden Church, President, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.¹ The reasoned conclusion of the

¹ Each published at one penny. The first is an answer to the question, 'If the evidence submitted by the official White, Orange, and Grey Books of the warring nations were analysed, as a lawyer analyses the evidence in his cases, who would be found responsible for the European war?' The second is a personal reply to Professor Dr. Fritz Schaper, Berlin, Germany.

former is that Germany is responsible ; but that it is the war party, and not the nation, which must be held guilty.

The German nation has been plunged into this abyss by its scheming statesmen, and its self-centred and highly neurotic Kaiser, who in the twentieth century sincerely believes that he is the proxy of Almighty God on earth, and therefore infallible. One day the German people will know the full truth, and then there will be a dreadful reckoning for those who have plunged a noble and peace-loving nation into this abyss of disaster.

The reply of President Church to the Professors, as represented by Dr. Schaper, is a unique combination of suavity and severity. His gentle words come down as resistlessly as a hydraulic press on the specious German falsities, and smash them to nothing. To the whole world, as well as to these misled, if not lying, savants, we commend these extracts:—

The men who have fallen among the Allies have died on their own soil, defending their countries against invasion ; but all your sons have died in a foreign land without a cause.

A nation which undertakes to prepare death and hell for all mankind as your nation has done during these past twenty-five years, will be restrained as a public enemy.

These war dreams, this Pan-Germanism, this mendacious diplomacy, have made the world afraid of you.

Germany, whether you win or lose, has fallen, and the once glorious nation must continue to pursue its course in darkness and murder until conscience at last bids it withdraw its armies back to its own boundaries, there to wait for the world's pardon upon this inexpiable damnation.

The last matter—not the least—upon which it is necessary to add yet a word, in the demonstration of German lying, relates to what are now only too well known as ‘atrocities.’ Three things must be affirmed hereupon, with the utmost possible emphasis. (1) These atrocities are too real, too numerous, too awful, too damnable, for any adequate verbal description whatever. (2) They have been openly denied, by Professors who knew nothing of the facts, and by Berlin authorities who knew everything. (3) Both these denials are lies of the deepest dye. No greater lie can be uttered in human speech than that of the Berlin official telegram—which runs thus :—

It must be stated that the German army commanders have by every means and with full success effected the maintenance of discipline and the observation of all the rules of war in all the theatres of the war.

Here, also, is the protest of the twenty-two Universities :—

You all, who know that our army is not an army of mercenaries, that it comprises the whole nation from the first to the last man, that it is led by the best of our country’s sons, that at this hour thousands of professors and students are falling as officers or soldiers on the battle-fields of France and Russia—you who have read and heard the spirit in which, and the success with which our youth is instructed and brought up, who know how much we inculcate respect and admiration for the masterpieces of the human brain, whatever the country to which it belongs, we ask you all to be *our witnesses and to say if what our enemies report is true*, and if it is correct that *the German Army is a horde of barbarians and a band of incendiaries, who take pleasure in killing innocent persons and destroying villages and the monuments of art and history* ; and if you will respect the

truth you will be convinced with us that where the German troops have had to accomplish work of destruction, they acted according to the pitiless *laws of defence in war*.

The italics are ours ; they both need and merit unequivocal reply. We do reiterate, in face of the actual facts, that ' what our enemies report *is true*.' It is demonstrably true, and the truth is unutterably worse than the report. The German Army, in Belgium, *has been* ' a horde of barbarians.' They *have* ' taken pleasure,' devilish pleasure, ' in killing innocent persons,' and wrecking monuments of art and edifices of religion. They have *not* acted according to ' the laws of defence in war.' When the savants of Germany, therefore, publish a protest such as this :—

It is not true that one single Belgian burgess's life and property have been touched in any way by our soldiers without the bitterest necessity, and when it was impossible to do otherwise. In spite of all warnings the population shot on our rearguard, killed our wounded, and murdered doctors in carrying out their work of mercy. These Belgians have broken all the laws of humanity, and one could not more treacherously interpret his duty to humanity than by refusing to silence them.

It is not true that our troops conducted themselves in a brutal manner at Louvain,

there is but one answer. It is an unmitigated, unparalleled, and colossal lie.

The proofs that it is such, are at hand and overwhelming. They are in print ; not as hysterical screamings, but the careful, deliberate, detailed findings of responsible courts, where no lie is tolerated, nor any exaggeration permitted. The

Belgian Legation in London is quite as trustworthy as any German university. Its reports through our Press Bureau are enough to make the world vomit at the very name of German, for generations to come. Two specimens are here given of the way in which priests—who were non-combatants—have been treated by the highly refined and cultured German soldiers.

On August 21 the priest of Buechen, the Rev. M. de Clerck, was arrested by German soldiers and accused of having fired at them. This was entirely false, for he was suffering from disease, and for some time had not even been able to conduct divine service. This poor invalid was hoisted on a cannon, he was then pulled down and cast into a ditch. Next some soldiers took him by the arms and legs and dragged him along the pavement. The old man, tortured in this fashion and absolutely exhausted, said that he would rather suffer death than the continuance of such cruel treatment. He was then shot. He was 83 years of age.

A witness makes the following deposition :—

‘ I saw the priest of Gelrode brought to Aerschot on August 24, and three wounded men with him. The Germans said that he was an English spy. They took him to the Town Hall, where he was very badly handled. Next day he was led out in front of the church, where he was beaten cruelly with the butt-ends of rifles ; his hands were dropping blood. He was then taken away and shot on the bridge over the Demer ; his body lay there on the ground till next morning, when it was cast into the Demer.’

The Commission of Inquiry has collected evidence showing that in the diocese of Malines alone twenty-six priests were killed without any cause. The same atrocities occurred in other dioceses. In that of Liège ten priests were shot, among them the *curés* of Forêt, Eure-le-Romain, and Blegny. In the diocese of Namur over twenty priests were shot, including the *curés* of Surice, Anthée, Onhave, and Spontin ; also the Abbé Grillard, professor at the

Belle Vue College, the Abbé Armand Scheigel, *curé* of Hastière-par-dela, and the Abbé Burniaux, Superintendent of the College of St. Louis at Namur. The *curé* of Spontin was hung up first by the feet and then by the hands, he was pierced by several bayonet thrusts, and finally shot.

Let it be noted—for this is written before the whole world—that these cases are typical. They cannot be denied; and if the Professors and the officials who cannot deny them do not cry for some avalanche to cover their shame, it will be only because their ‘Kultur’ is shameless. Alas, this tale of devilry is far from all.¹ The following also has to be faced, for the plain though fearful reason that it is true. And as all the ocean’s water could not wash out the stains on Lady Macbeth’s bloody hands, no more will the passing years ever suffice to blot out the memory of Germany’s iniquity from the histories of this earth:—

PARIS.

An official report has been issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, consisting of twenty thousand words. It is presented to the President of the Council by the Commission appointed to inquire into the acts committed by the enemy in violation of the laws of nations. The report contains more than one hundred cases of atrocities; and it is pointed out that each has not only been obtained as the result of personal observation, but is also founded on photographic documents and a mass of evidence received in a legal form.

‘It may be said,’ states the report, ‘that there never has

¹ Those who care to face other authenticated details, will find them in *German Atrocities*, by William Le Queux—being official reports from the Belgian Government (1s., Newnes), and in *The Kaiser and His Barbarians*, by W. N. Willis (6d., Anglo-Eastern Publishing Co.), ‘An authoritative record.’ But above all, in the French Government’s published account of diaries found on German prisoners.

been a war between civilized nations which has been of such a savage and ferocious nature as that which at the present moment is being waged on our soil by an implacable enemy. Pillage, rape, incendiarism, and murder are the practices current among the enemy. Deeds have been daily revealed to us which constitute veritable crimes against the common law, punished by the codes of all countries with the most severe penalties.

'The attempts against women and girls have happened with unheard-of frequency. We have a large number of cases established, indicating that there is an enormous number of similar cases which have not been brought to notice because of the sentiment of the very respectable victims of these odious acts. The victims generally refuse to reveal them. These cases would have been less frequent if the commanders of an army, whose discipline is usually notified for its rigour, had endeavoured to prevent them.

This account is bad enough; although the definitely certified official results of investigation show that the actual facts are worse than is here represented. Because these things are so gruesomely, ghastlily, infernally true, they ought to be known, and ought not to be forgotten. Here is list enough to make Attila shudder in his grave. These are the doings of the Germanic hordes, in two of the fairest countries in the whole world :—

Another grim report on the way the Germans treated peaceable inhabitants in *Belgian Luxemburg*, when the invaders crossed the province in August and September. was issued last night by the Belgian Commission of Inquiry. The report states :—

'The northern parts of the province have been generally respected. On the other hand two regions in the south of the province have been completely devastated. We have drawn up rough statistics of the houses burnt :—

Neufchâteau—21 houses burnt.

Etalle—30 houses burnt.
 Houdemont—64 houses burnt.
 Rulles—Half the houses destroyed by fire.
 Ansart—Village completely burnt.
 Tintigny—Only 3 houses still standing.
 Jamoigne—Half the village destroyed.
 Les Bulles—Half the village destroyed.
 Meyen—42 houses destroyed.
 Rossignol—Village entirely burnt.
 Mussy la Ville—20 houses burnt.
 Bertrix—15 houses destroyed.
 Bleid—Great part of village destroyed.
 Signeux—Great part of village destroyed.
 Ethe—Five-sixths of the village burnt.
 Bellefontaine—6 houses burnt.
 Musson—Half the village destroyed.
 Baranzy—Only 4 houses remaining.
 St. Léger—6 houses burnt.
 Semel—Every house burnt.
 Maissin—64 out of 100 houses burnt.
 Villance—9 houses burnt.
 Anloy—26 houses burnt.

' These figures are low estimates. The number of houses burnt in the province of Luxemburg is over 3,000. The houses whose destruction is thus reported were burnt, not during the operations of war, but by wilful and systematic incendiarism.

ONE THOUSAND PEOPLE MURDERED.

In a great number of villages the German troops gave themselves up to veritable executions *en masse*. The number of men shot in the whole province is over 1,000. [The entire province had a population of only 232,500.] The following figures relate to certain villages only :—

Neufchâteau—18 shot.
 Vance—1 shot.
 Etalle—30 shot.
 Houdemont—11 shot.
 Tintigny—157 shot.
 Izele—10 shot.
 Rossignol—106 shot.

Bertrix—21 shot.

Ethe—About 300 persons shot. 530 in all, missing.

Bellefontaine—1 man shot.

Latour—Only 17 men surviving in the village.

St. Léger—11 shot.

Maissin—10 men, 1 woman, and 1 young girl shot;
2 men and 2 women wounded.

Villance—2 men shot; 1 young girl wounded.

Anloy—52 men and women shot.

Claireuse—2 men shot; 2 men hung.

‘About 111 persons of the communes of Ethe and Rossignol were publicly shot at Arlon. Some days later 8 persons from neighbouring communes were executed there. A police officer at Arlon, named Lempereur, was shot without trial, on a trifling accusation, which was afterwards discovered to be unfounded.

‘Cases of outrage on women by drunken soldiers have been numerous.’

As an instance of the way in which, by lying, these atrocities are defended, the *Westminster Gazette* gives us this :—

The Belgian Legation has issued a very interesting statement showing how strictly, before war came, Belgium strove to preserve her neutrality, and how since war came the civil population have been warned not to take any part in the fighting. To that end, civilians were instructed that they would do wisely to deposit any weapons they might possess with the authorities, these weapons to be returned at the end of the war. When the Germans found these weapons later on, their Government issued a statement accusing Belgium of ‘having prepared stores of weapons, in which each gun was labelled with the name of the person to whom it was to be given.’ As to which, the Belgian statement very well says :—

‘This last detail proves that the weapons in question were precisely those which had been taken away from private persons, and were to be given back to them. Is it customary in an arsenal to label each rifle with the

name of the soldier who is to receive it? A lie can be recognized at once when it is issued with such absurd and contradictory additions.'

The Belgian Government succeeds in proving that it acted both wisely and correctly, and that its acts furnish no shadow of excuse or justification for German 'frightfulness.'

Finally, the Belgian Commission of Inquiry on 'the violation of the rules of International law and the laws and customs of war' has issued its seventh report. On this *The Times* says:—

The report, which is signed by M. Cooreman, Minister of State and President of the Commission, Count Goblet de Alviolla, Minister of State, Vice-President of the Senate, Chevalier Ernst de Brunswyck, Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, and M. Orts, Councillor of Legation of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, deals with:—

- (1) The use of explosive or expanding bullets.
- (2) Maltreatment of prisoners and wounded.
- (3) Maltreatment of hospital staff and misuse of the Red Cross.
- (4) Maltreatment of the civil population.
- (5) Bombardment of open spaces.

In its second report the Commission of Inquiry reported that expanding bullets had been left behind by the German troops on the battle-field at Werchter, and that medical reports established the fact that Belgian soldiers had been wounded by balls of this kind. The German Army operating in Belgium has continued to use these prohibited balls. The Commission of Inquiry reproduce some of the documents which prove this fact.

Each of these items is then proved by first-hand incontestable evidence, to the eternal shame of the nation which has thrust its boasts of 'Kultur' into the faces of all other nations. If anything on earth could make this whole gruesome tragedy of savagery

worse than it is, surely Dr. Moll—President of the Psychological Society of Berlin—has supplied it in the consummate and heartless impudence of his suggestion that these things are not realities, but are to be thus explained :—

Events tumble over one another, and the people is reduced to a state which can only be described as general hallucination.

The innuendo is brutally false. If it received its due human reward, it would involve subjecting the suggester, and all who belong to him, to the same kind of treatment which has been accorded to the innocent and brave little nation which Germany has, for the time being, murderously crushed with the bully's mailed fist, and, with a lie in its mouth, 'annexed as a "German province."' He would better know thereafter how to define 'hallucination.'

III

THE LESSONS CONVEYED

It is in very deed a thankless, pitiful, repulsive task, thus to expose the moral degradation of a nation. But the reasons for so doing, and the lessons conveyed, may be expressed in a few pregnant conclusions.

The actual case before us is that of a great and wealthy and powerful nation, which during the last century has made unmeasured progress in all directions, and has contributed not a little to the intellectual, scientific, and commercial life of the world, infatuated with false ideals, frenzied with hate against other nations, maddened with the fever of war into actions and attitudes as ruinous to themselves as murderous towards others. This development of national folly and sin began in 1870, with the lie through which Bismarck precipitated the Franco-Prussian War. For the time it seemed to triumph; as evil often does. But in the end the old word has proved as true as ever—‘Be not deceived; God is not mocked: whatever a man,’ or a nation, ‘sows, that will he also reap.’ The selfish, cruel, brutal seed of militarism was sown then, and has spread, as only noxious weeds do, throughout the whole German area. Since that

day, pride, greed, conceit, the lust of conquest, brute ideals, the infatuation of fighting invincibility, have been gnawing like a cancer at the nation's heart. Nietzsche, Chamberlain, Treitschke, Bernhardi, have contributed their sinister part; and the war-lords of Junkerdom have found—or made—in the Kaiser and his heir, fitting exponents of their inflated ambitions. It is to be feared that Mr. Beck is wrong now, in distinguishing between the people and the Jingoës in Germany. Mr. Spencer Wilkinson is only too tragically justified in his representation of the situation :—

The whole German nation is united, and determined in its purpose to crush France for ever. No French nation and no French civilization are ever again to be able to resist or rival the purposes and ideals of Germany.

There is no possible mistaking of the German purpose. It has been nursed in secret for half a century. For the last quarter of a century it has found gradually growing expression. Now it is proclaimed in University Halls and crowded assemblies without hesitation or modification. France has to be finally crushed; the surrounding little nations are to be absorbed; Russia is to be check-mated; Europe to be completely dominated; then England crippled into German vassalage; and finally the United States given to understand that the Monroe doctrine is pure fiction, and that the hegemony of Germany must be welcomed by a grateful world. This summary is not fancy. It is not imagination. It is not exaggeration. Lest it should be thought so, listen yet once more to the ravings of the Professors. Professor Ostwald,

elaborating his ideas in the course of a 'Kultur' campaign in Sweden, told an interviewer that—

The chief cause of the war lies in the fear inspired in Germany's enemies by the unheard-of might with which Germany has realized her great organizing Thought. . . . For Germany has reached a stage of civilization far ahead of other peoples, and the war will make the latter participate in this higher civilization. . . . The Russians are still at the period of the barbaric horde, whilst the French and English have reached the degree of cultured development which we left fifty years ago.

Professor Peuss, of Dessau, openly declares that—

The autonomous existence of little peoples will no longer be politically possible. Europe needs the Kulturstaat, the Kultur Imperium. Switzerland must be invited to join the Kulturbund. As for England, her insular possessions in Europe afford a base much too narrow for continued existence.

Another Professor, Dr. Koerber, gives his opinion that—

After the war Germany should not only maintain her military predominance, but must also assert the physical and intellectual superiority of the Germans, in order to exercise in Europe her due political and civilizing hegemony without necessarily suppressing the independent existence of other peoples.

Mr. Richard Toozmann, a well-known Prussian writer, modestly remarks :—

We seek the friendship of nobody in the world ; because friendship is only possible amongst equals, but no people on earth even approach Germany as a cultured nation. We are simply incomparable. . . . Holland should woo us with every means in her power, and be thankful and happy if we, who are a thousand times superior in every direction,

patronizingly and benignantly pat her on the shoulder and ask, ' Now, kiddy, have you been a good child ? ' Because our position in the world is unattainable by others we are envied and feared by the whole world.

But it is surely reserved for Professor Adolf Lasson, of Berlin University, to take the prize for the frankness of his boundless patriotic conceits, as he thus delivers himself :—

A foreigner is an enemy until he proves that he is not. One cannot rest neutral in relationship to Germany and the German people. Either one must consider Germany as the most perfect political creation that history has known, or one must approve her destruction, her extermination.

We are morally and intellectually superior to all : without peers. It is the same with our organizations and our institutions.

England is going to her ruin. France may yet be saved. As to Russia, she must no more be our neighbour. This time we shall wipe the slate clean. Our true foe is England. Woe to you, Albion ! God is with us, and is defending our just cause !

We are breathing, with full chest, the large breath of History, and we know nothing about this wretched bourgeois existence.

We have no friends. All fear us and look upon us as dangerous, because we are intelligent, active, and morally superior.

We are the freest people in the world. For we know how to obey. Our law is reason. Our force is the force of the mind ; our victory the victory of that. That is why we are able to struggle against numerous enemies, as did Frederick II in other days.

The European conspiracy has woven around us a web of lies and slander. As for us, we are truthful ; our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscience, the virtues of Christ. In a world of wickedness we represent love, and God is with us !

We are indebted to these men for their outspokenness. If we must deal with madmen, or with a mad nation, it is at least well to know it. And who does not know that lunatics are strong? The German nation is now, we hear, frenzied with hate for this land,¹ and indeed for the Allies. But there was method indeed in the stages of military insanity which preceded the outbreak of the war. No such preparation for war had ever been made before by any nation upon earth.

And yet—mercifully for humanity—the cunningest and most elaborate schemes for ill sometimes break down. In this case the world breathes again to see that the abominable designs of Prussian militarism are frustrated. The little nation which it so despised, stemmed the full tide of its impassioned rush, and thwarted its plans, however cruel and bitter the vengeance incurred. Then came the other surprises, in the dogged valour of France, and the response of Britain to the call of honour. And now there is the world to reckon with. Even the disciplined might of German militarism is not equal to that. So tongues and pens are invoked to help the sword. In the world of mind, the baffled German war-lords are seeking to do what their boasted Krupp devices did to Liège, and Namur, and Antwerp. Professor Haeckel's champion in

¹ Referring to the recent interception of the German squadron bent on another murderous raid on our East Coast, and the sinking of their cruiser *Blücher*, the press reports to-day from Copenhagen that 'Berlin has been driven into almost ungovernable fury by the British success in the North Sea. Feeling against Britain has increased beyond all bounds.' This, be it observed, because we object to having our women and children slaughtered by the naval guns of bullies who, like cowards, flee headlong as soon as a hostile fleet appears.

this country, in seeking to defend his hero, gives us only too true a vision of actualities. Says Mr. Joseph McCabe :—

We now know that the official German paper on the war lied audaciously, and it is not unnatural for a German to believe the official publications of his country. Haeckel believes, on official assurance, that England refused to stand aside even when Germany offered to refrain from attacking France, and that Sir Edward Grey attempted to prevent an understanding. These official lies are well known, and it is equally known that the German Government takes extreme care that no other version shall reach its people. Where I think Haeckel incapable of defence is when he goes on to say that we acted out of jealousy of 'Germany's greatness,' and when he calmly speaks of the invasion of Belgium as 'necessary.' We know that he, like all his compatriots, has been assured that Germany learned that France was about to invade Belgium; yet that does not seem to me to justify either his palliation of the crime against international honour or his attack on England. Perhaps it is difficult for us to imagine the position of a man in a country where people are fed daily with lies.

But the residue of strength and resource in Germany is great, and the Allies have yet to face a Titanic struggle. The most influential men in that country are still devoted to the Kaiser, and firm in their double belief that Germany ought to win, and will conquer in the end. As to the unwarrantable folly of their ideals, and the wrongs involved, they seem to be as blind as Dalton was to his red stockings. Every issue of our daily papers confirms this, and it is not a moment too soon that Sir Henry Howard has been sent to the Vatican, to counteract some of the lies which there have had far too long a start.

This, then, is the situation. Force alone on their part has failed. Falsity is called in to help. The lies issued have been influential, but their influence is decreasing. In the end it will cease. Meanwhile, the survey of the whole conflict gives us these facts and principles.

As to facts. Mercifully these demonstrations of falsity have not obtained, and do not apply, in regard to the Allies in general, or to this country in particular. Information has sometimes been held back from our people, and mistakes have been made. But there has been no approach to a parallel with the misrepresentations of the German Foreign Office, or the German Press Bureau, or the leading German newspapers. All that has been said above in reference to the methods of the country with which we are at war, is not merely true, but is typical of immeasurably more. It is neither the wish nor the purpose of these pages to vilify Germany. Every word is weighed, and every adjective strictly considered. It is because these things are true, that they are so full of present significance, and convey such tremendous lessons.

As matters for present consideration the following appear to be luridly manifest.

(1) The worth of German 'Kultur'—which really stands for all that we mean by advanced civilization—sinks to almost nothing, when tried by the higher tests of moral character and ethical influence. There may be a University in every German city, and technical schools with latest apparatus everywhere, but if they only amount to this, that solemn treaties are but 'scraps of paper'; that neither a man's nor a nation's word is its bond; that the

people may be hoodwinked without limit for political reasons ; that innocent blood may be shed with ruthless savagery for military ends ; and the like ; then such 'Kultur' is only fit for the bottomless pit, to which it should be relegated.

(2) Assuming that the theological Professors, if not also the philosophers and the people, are acquainted with the story of Gehazi, they may well be reminded of his fate. For such degradation is what has come to Germany, in so far as it has been dominated, and, alas, saturated, with Prussian greed and cunning. If the words of leading men above quoted are not sufficient to prove this, there is plenty more of such evidence to hand. Dr. Emil Reich's epithet—'Germany's swelled head'—is both true and symptomatic. The disease has spread like leprosy throughout the whole system, so that the Germany of to-day has become an object of aversion for the whole modern world.

(3) It goes without saying that any cause which needs to be helped out by lying is self-condemned, and therefore merits all the more the condemnation of others. With the exception of a 'ramshackle Empire' which is itself riddled with dissension, and an effete people whose ejection—'bag and baggage'—from Europe has so long been desired by all our best politicians, Germany is perfectly true, for once, when it wails that it has no friends. Greed, conceit, fraud, brutality, are not good methods for making any friends who are worth having. It is not too much to say to-day that no nation deserving the name wishes Germany success. They will all rejoice to see the same fate overtake Prussian militarism—along with the national greed

and conceit which it engendered—as came upon Nebuchadnezzar of old :—

Thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and thou shalt be made to eat grass like the oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will.¹

(4) With lurid and dreadful plainness we see in Germany's condition to-day the demoralizing effects of war, alike in its contemplation, its inception, and its cruel maintenance. There are, we know, noble men amongst the German officers, as amongst our own. There are myriads of German privates who no more hate us and want to fight, than we desire to slaughter them. But these are overborne by military despotism, backed by the national spite which says, 'Wir haben nur einen Feind—England.' So civilization is sunk in savagery, religion jettisoned in the storms of passion, and the Apostle's ideal of Christian conduct—

Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and railing be put away from you, with all malice—

first reversed, and then intensified. Well may it be said that war is hell, and woe invoked on the heads of those that cause it.

(5) It is no less sadly plain that under these influences, patriotism itself may become a snare and a means of degradation. 'The Fatherland' suggests some of earth's sweetest and noblest thoughts.

¹ Dan. iv. 25.

Especially to English ears ; for our word 'home' has no German or French equivalent. '*Heim*' is not the same, whilst '*Nach Hause*' and '*Chez moi*' are but poor representatives. But it may become a mere fetish, an idol on which to hang weapons of hate, a blind obsession which, as Professor Lasson said above, makes every man of another nation an enemy. There may well be love of one's own country, for reasons too tender and inspiring to be told. But if that love involves the hate of all other countries, it is but the base metal of animal selfishness, rather than the pure gold of human affection. If the German love of the 'Fatherland' can only be maintained by destroying the liberties, and comforts, and joys, and homes, of other lands, then it is time that such a national conceit should be wiped off the face of the earth.

The present situation, however, supplies also some very weighty reasons for more serious thought and action in regard to our own future. Even such as these—not to mention others.

(1) The fearful gravity of the struggle in which we are engaged is driven home upon us. What is called 'fair fight,' though often a cruel euphemism for unwarranted and unprofitable suffering, is yet immeasurably better than having to contend with fraud and savagery. Conflict with an unscrupulous foe, who holds nothing sacred in war but force diabolized by science, and acknowledges no right but might, is in very deed a grave undertaking. When we are told deliberately that moral principles have no value for nations at war, and that the 'frightfulness' which consists in wholesale murder, rape, and robbery, is both legitimate and best for

war's needs, whilst anything and everything may be covered up by lying, it does indeed seem as if hell were let loose on earth. Those who are most competent to judge, appear to think that in this tremendous conflict the worst is yet to come. God grant they may be mistaken !

(2) Certainly we have no guarantee whatever for truth and fair dealing in the future. From quarters which are neither few nor uninfluential, we hear again and again not only that Germany must win because it is Germany, but what it will do with the spoils of victory. We may smile our grim smile of determination at the former ; but the overweening confidence of the latter undoubtedly means that our foe will spare no pains, no effort, no cost, no sacrifice, and will stick at nothing, in order to secure that prize. ' World power or downfall,' says Bernhardi. The nations indeed answer—' Downfall '—with unmistakable unanimity. But the props that have to be cut away, both false and foul, are so many and so strong, as to make the task of the Allies colossal.

(3) After all, lies do not ultimately help any cause. They always play the boomerang, and, like curses, come home to roost. They are doing so already. Even the German people, multitudes of whom, we may well believe, are at heart peace-loving, are coming to see that they have been deceived and betrayed. Whether Socialism leads the van to revolution or not, it is beginning to be felt that Junkerism and Militarism have misled the nation, and no amount of falsity in the Reichstag, or the press, will be able to conceal from the German people that this war will be the costliest, as it

has been the wickedest, that they have ever entered upon.

(4) From the recognition and abhorrence of false principles, it is all the more incumbent upon us to pass, in thought, and word, and deed, to such as are worthy and hopeful. To expatiate upon these is not here our task. That may be left to other and better hands. But if we are to end a dark page with a line of light, it must be upon these three distinct avowals, for which it is claimed that they are true, beyond rational no less than Christian contradiction.

(i.) The main plea here is for truth. In war, even more than in peace, what men and nations need is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The wiles of diplomacy and the tricks of the campaign, are but part of the evil for which war stands. But truth alone is not enough to bring peace on earth ; nor to make national as well as individual life healthy and happy, noble in the present and hopeful for the future. Truth must be linked with justice, and both fused with love, if any human Millennium is ever to dawn. In the midst of our present Armageddon it seems almost as if the night were hopeless ; but as it is said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn, we need not yet despair.

(ii.) It is, however, certain as the light of day, that such a result—the overcoming of falsehood by truth, of tyranny by justice, and of hate by love—will never, never come to pass, whilst men are human, without cost and conflict and suffering and self-sacrifice such as no words can portray. That cost is now being paid ; the awful toll is being taken ;

the 'Roll of Honour' smites our tear-dimmed eyes almost blind with glimpses of the mental as well as bodily suffering involved. If there comes from heaven one moment the voice that tells of highest honour—'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends'—the next an echo seems to come from hell, reminding us of the agony of the battle-field, the anguish of the widow's broken heart, the desolation of the fatherless children. Even if it be true, it is an awful paradox, that the best in human nature seems to have to emerge from the worst.

(iii.) It brings us to this—let unbelief scoff as it may—that the hope of the future for humanity, rests neither with German, nor British, nor Belgian, nor Russian patriotism. The Christian patriotism, which includes them all, but subjects them all to the Second Great Commandment, is the only hope for mankind. 'Not Nietzsche but Christ'—will be because it must be, the greatest lesson of this greatest war. Whether it be truth or fable that the Julian who fought Christ in the earlier ages, died saying 'O Galilean, Thou hast conquered,' the Superman of the poor mad philosopher will have to kneel before the Man of Nazareth, and listen to His patient but potent plea, 'Come unto Me and learn of Me.' Full well one knows that for some in our midst, such an invitation will as yet but meet with scorn. Surely, however, Mr. Robert Blatchford will not be accounted a weak-minded pietist. His words may indeed have special significance, as coming from one who incurred odium for the sake of telling his countrymen what he knew to be true, in regard to the calamity that is upon us, even before it came.

He, like so many more of us, hates war unutterably. And even in the midst of its daily horrors his words are true that—

Love is stronger than greed, stronger than hate, stronger than any passion or motive of human nature. And love is growing, will grow, *must* grow, and is destined finally to 'beat down Satan under our feet,' and drive the beasthood out of our human nature.

Let the last be first, and the first last; let the strong support the weak, and the great serve the small. That, it seems to me, is what we sigh for, strive for, and are ready to die for; that is what we mean when we speak or sing or dream of Socialism.

At least, and certainly, whatever economic theory a man may deem best, that ideal, and that alone, is what we ought to mean by Christianity. It is what we shall have to mean, if ever the present Hell of blood and hate and woe and suffering which is cursing Europe, is to give place to a Heaven of peace and trust and joy and hope for all mankind. Nietzsche has been tried, and found wanting. Ages ago the howling mob in their fanatic hatred of the patient Sufferer who confronted them, cried aloud, 'Not this man but Barabbas'—'Now Barabbas was a robber.' But the eyes of intervening generations have been opened. The world of to-day is heart-sick of robbery in all its forms, and of the brute selfishness which engenders it. Not Belgium alone but all mankind opposes, and will oppose at any cost, the deification of might as right, or the enthronement of military tyranny as national law. The whole human race with one voice reverses the verdict of the Jewish mob. The cry of the new century, so anguished and bloodstained in its

opening years, is—'Come, Lord Jesus.' And He is coming.

These things shall be ; a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm,
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed, shall live as comrades free ;
In every brain and heart shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould,
And mightier music thrill the skies,
And every life shall be a song,
When all the earth is Paradise.

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